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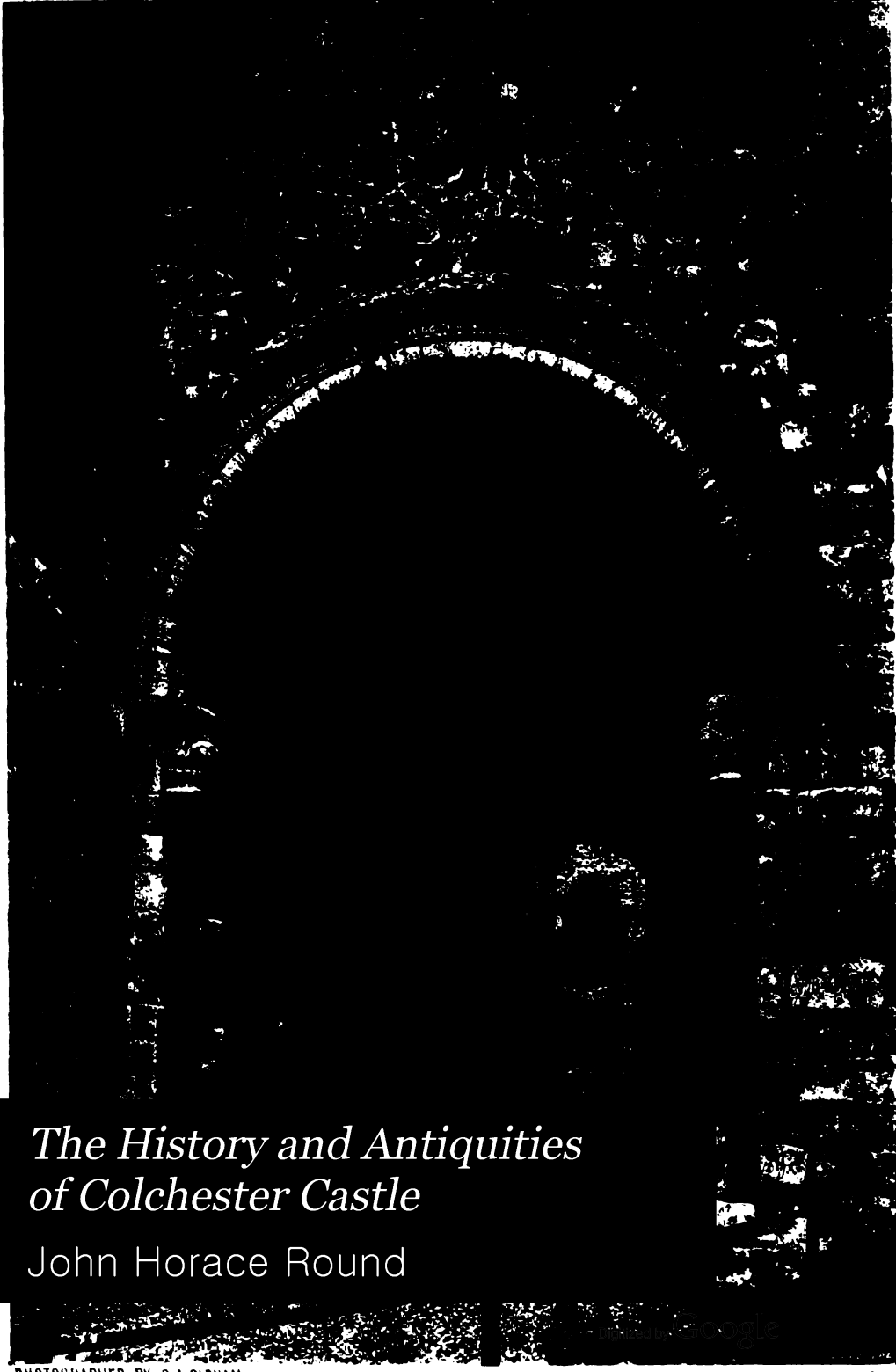
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The History and Antiquities of Colchester Castle

John Horace Round

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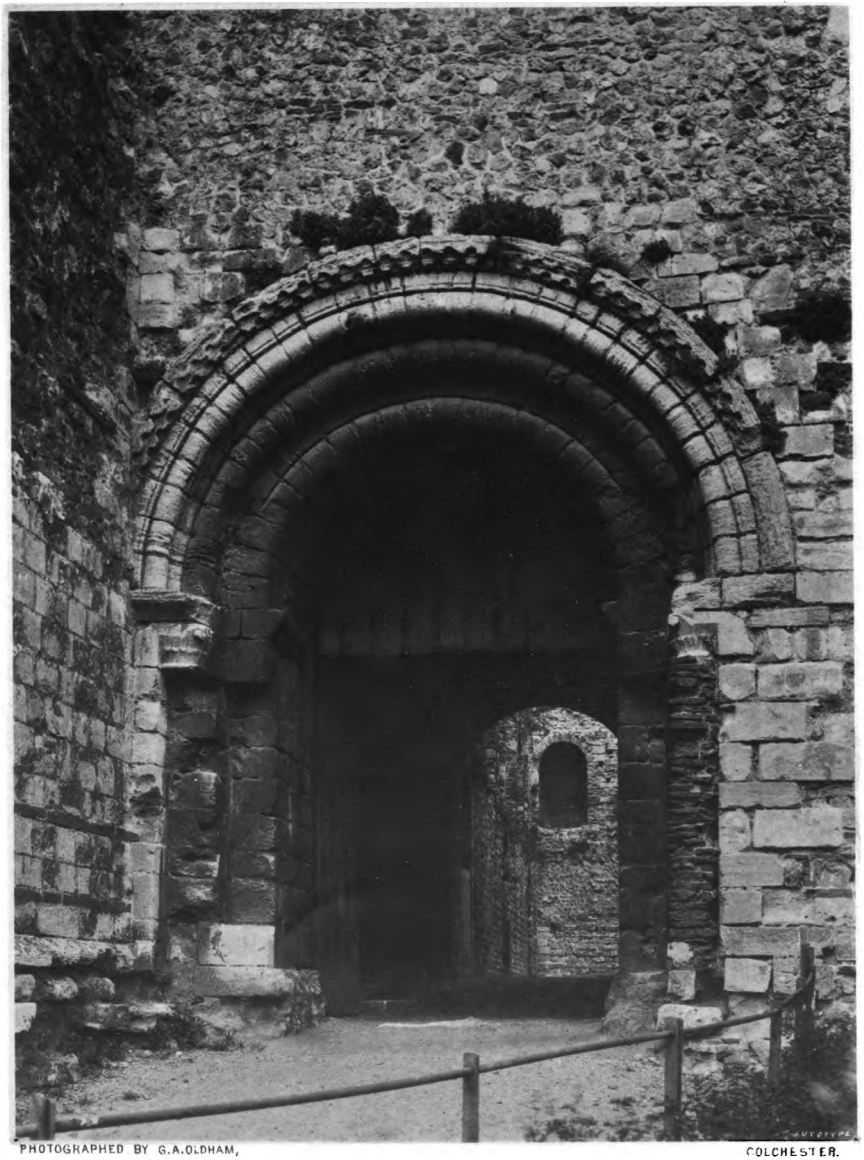
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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

COLCHESTER CASTLE.

"A Castle some tyme stronge and statelye, as the ruynes thereof do shewe,"
NORDEN, Chorography of Essex, 1594.

"That great Castle, ... which I believe to be one of the most interesting buildings of its kind in the breadth and length of this island."
LORD CARLINGFORD, Inaugural Address at Colchester, 1876.

Colchester:
BENHAM & Co., 24, High Street,
1882.

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PREFACE.

An attempt is made in the following pages to set before the Public in a popular form, and at a price that should place it within general reach, some accurate information on the History and Archæology of the Royal Castle of Colchester. The want of some special guide to so remarkable a Building has long, I am informed, been felt. If we except the pamplets avowedly written in support of the eccentric "Roman theory," there is no publication of the kind. The account given in Morant is not only meagre and inaccurate, but also out of date and inaccessible to the general Public. Two little books have, it is true, been issued—"Sketches of Ancient Colchester" and "The Tendring Hundred in the Olden Time,"—but such information as they contain is virtually copied from Morant.

I have endeavoured to give life and interest to the "dry bones" of Archæology by using the Castle as a means of elucidating some fresh facts in the History of Colchester, and of throwing occasional light on the manners and customs of the time, I would hope that, by grouping historic events around this one building, I may rouse among those who have it ever before their eyes, a new and keener interest in the general history of their country. In the Introductory Chapter on "Ancient Colchester" the opportunity has been taken of putting together all that is known of that obscure period, and of thus illustrating an historic continuity which can be paralleled by few, if any, among the ancient towns of England. I trust this may serve to increase the pride which the inhabitants of Colchester may justly feel in the traditions of their olden greatness, and to remind them that they may indeed claim to be "citizens of no mean city."

I would add that by the courtesy of Mr. Round, M.P., the Proprietor of the Castle and its ancient Demesnes, I have been enabled to examine several of his documents containing original information. I have also to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Gunner, the intelligent Keeper of the Castle and Curator of the Colchester Museum.

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I.

ANCIENT COLCHESTER.

SCARCELY has the darkness of the pre-historic epoch been illumined by the earliest rays of the dawn of British history when we are vouchsafed a vivid glimpse of an already existing Colchester, "Camulodunum, the Royal seat of Cunobelin,"[1]—such is its description in the pages of Dio Cassius, before it fell beneath the conquering Roman. Who then was Cunobelin and what was Camulodunum? Cunobelin—the Cymbeline of Shakespeare—was not improbably[2] the grandson of that very Caswallon who had resisted so gallantly[3] the invasion of Cæsar, that the Romans, for nearly a century, refrained from repeating the attempt. Like him, Cunobelin was recognised as the head of a wide confederacy (united, there is reason to believe,[4] by a system of native roads), but he seems to have fixed his residence within his hereditary dominions, first at Verulam (St. Alban's) and then[5] at Camulodunum (Colchester). He appears, in his youth, to have travelled as far as Rome,[6] and from Italy he probably brought back with him the skilful artists who designed and wrought his famous coinage.[7] After a reign extending over more than forty years,[8] he died as he had lived, on the banks of the Colne, powerful and free.

The site of this British Camulodunum[9] was long a problem

[1] *τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελίνου βασίλειον*

[2] The site of Caswallon's capital is rather doubtful, but Camden may be right in placing it at Verulam. Now Verulam was the original capital of Cunobelin.

[3] In the summer of 54 B.C.

[4] Pearson: *History of England* i. 12, 15. Quart. Review xcvii. 73, 80.

[5] This is proved by the more advanced character of his coins, struck at Camulodunum.—Beale Poste: *Coins of Cunobelin and the Ancient Britons* (1853), p. 34.

[6] Beale Poste: *Coins of Cunobelin.*

[7] For his coins, see also Morant's Colchester (1748) iii. 22, 29.

[8] It is considered that he began his reign before the Christian era, and died about 41 A.D.—Beale Poste: *Britannic Researches* (1853).

[9] *Observations on the site of Camulodunum* (Jenkins), Archæologia xxix (1842). *The Romans at Colchester*, Quarterly Review xcvii. (1855). *The site of Camulodunum* (Scarth), Archæological Journal xxxiii. (1876). See also Camden, &c.

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for the Antiquary, but the issue has now been unanimously narrowed to the sites of Lexden and Colchester. But even this rivalry disappears when we realise that it comprised them *both*. "The circumference of the city," says Mr. Jenkins,[1] "might "probably have been about eight miles, and comprised the "whole of Colchester and the village of Lexden and the land "lying between and contiguous to them." "When we picture "to ourselves," adds the Quarterly Reviewer, "what a British "Oppidum was,[2]—a wide space enclosed within mounds or "stockades or, more commonly, flanked on two or three sides "by woods or morasses, and defended in front by a rude "rampart,—we shall be struck with its perfect correspondence "with such a position. To the North of it flows the Colne, in "a deep, and what must in those days have been a marshy "valley, while on the South it is flanked by a smaller stream, "still called the Roman river, which probably made its way "through dense forests. These two streams, meeting in the "estuary of the Colne, enclose on three sides the peninsula on the "neck of which Lexden stands; and across this neck of land, or "such part of it as was unoccupied by marsh or wood, two or "perhaps three parallel lines of rampart may now be traced for "two or more miles, supposed to be British from the flint celts "which have been found about them. . . . In the space "within them, amounting to about twenty (?) square miles, "inaccessible on the North, South, and East, and strongly "defended on the West, the Trinobantes could retire in security, "with all their flocks and herds." That the actual residence of Cunobelin may have stood at Lexden, as its name[3] would seem to imply, is very probable, but I cannot admit that, on that account, Colchester itself should be excluded from the limits of his capital. On the contrary, a glance at the map will show that it formed an integral part[4] of his stronghold. For we must remember that the oval space thus enclosed would be none too large for the permanent headquarters,[5] and the potential retreat, of the most powerful tribe in Britain.

[1] *Colchester Castle, the Temple of Claudius* (1869) p. 16.

[2] Compare Pearson i. p. 16.

[3] *Vide* Jenkins: Lexden, Lessenden, Llys-dyn=the seat of royalty.

[4] We might expect that the population would be impartially spread over the area, and that so favourable a site as that of Colchester would not be neglected. The chief, however, would naturally reside at the most important military point.

[5] It must be remembered that they all had their sheep and cattle with them.

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That three[1] British roads already led to Lexden merely indicates that at Lexden was the *entrance* to the tribal settlement, the one break in the long line of rampart.[2] At each extremity of the main line of defence, a rampart would seem to have been carried out into the woods, as an additional cover to the flanks; but the actual settlement would not have extended beyond the two streams. And this brings us to the strangest point of the whole story, namely, that our modern Colchester not only includes within its limits the great bulk of the British Camulodunum, but that the boundaries of the two are, for considerable distances,[3] absolutely identical! Are we not almost driven to the conclusion that Lexden and East Donyland[4] are annexed to Colchester *because* with Llys-dyn and Din-y-lan it constituted Camulodunum?[5] If so, our ancient Boundary, with its otherwise unmeaning extension to Stanway Heath and to Kingsford Bridge, becomes full of significance as the standing witness to the military necessities of the ancient Briton.[6]

The second scene in the history of Colchester begins with its Conquest by the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 44. Called over by a son[7] of the deceased Cunobelin, he entered in triumph the famous stronghold at the head of a train of elephants and some 25,000[8] legionaries, and high above the waters of the Colne, in a

[1] One of these is thought to be identical with the present road to London. (Q.R. xcvii. p. 80.)

[2] There is a large collection of sketches and views of these works, as they appeared in the last century, in the Gough Collection, at the Bodleian.

[3] *i.e.*, on the West, along the great rampart dividing the parishes of Lexden and Stanway, and anciently known as the Wyldenhay, *i.e.*, Wealdun-Hai="the limit of the jurisdiction" (Jenkins). On the South, along the Roman river.

[4] Donyland is plausibly explained by Jenkins as Din-y-lan="the precinct of the Town." There is no good Saxon derivation. Notice that the original "Donyland" just filled this part of Camulodunum," but that a subsequent division cut *East* Donyland out of the area.

[5] It is important to observe that the three constituent parts of the ancient "Camulodunum" have retained names derived from British or Roman originals. Does this show that they mainly retained also their populations?—Cornhill Mag., September 1881, "*Old English Clans*" (Mr. Allen.)

[6] I commend this phenomenon, *quantum valeat*, to the notice of Mr. Green and the rest of that modern School who maintain that every trace of the Roman (and *a fortiori* the pre-Roman) Polity was wholly effaced by the 'English' Conquest. See also p. 11.

[7] Adminius.

[8] The four Legions with auxiliaries, &c., would amount to fully this number.—Horsley's Brit. Rom. I. chap. vi. p. 76. Compare Roy p. 187.

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vast encampment[1] of which the lines may be roughly reproduced in the existing streets[2] of Colchester,—there were seen flashing in the sunlight the victorious Eagles of Rome.[3] A military colony was the favourite method by which the Romans secured their "march," the limit of their latest conquest. Accordingly 'Colonia[4] Camulodunum,' their first Colony in England, rose rapidly[5] among the conquered Trinobantes. Lapped in Italian luxury, and scorning the thought of possible danger from those 'barbarians' whom they insulted[6] and oppressed, they dwelt at ease in their scattered Villas, without the protection of a wall[7] or even, at length, of a garrison.[8] Relying on their tutelary[9] Deity, that Emperor-God whose

[1] That the camp of Claudius was fixed (as General Roy asserts.—*Military Antiquities*, 1793, p. 187) on the site of the present Colchester is, I think, shewn (1) by that site being the strongest point within the area of Camulodunum (the Britons required *space*, but the Romans *strength*); (2) by its being the furthest removed from the dreaded chance of a surprise by the infuriated natives; (3) by its remarkable correspondence with the size required for the camp of such a force (a strong outpost was planted out at Lexden); (4) by the camp-like plan on which Colchester is laid out.

[2] "The direction of these avenues has been nearly, though not "precisely, preserved to the present day. The High Street of Colchester, "like the Corso of Rome, for no reason that can be traced, deflects "slightly from the original line, and is no longer flush with the Prætorian "or front gate in the Western face of the walls, though it still preserves "its original exit at the opposite side. . . We have called the Western "entrance of Colchester the Prætorian, because the West gate, we "conceive in this case, was that which was supposed to face the "enemy." Q.R. xcvii. 86.

[3] The mutilated Eagle of a Roman Standard, found at Colchester, is now in the possession of Mr. H. Willett of Brighton.

[4] Of such importance was the British Camulodunum that not only did the Romans select it as the first point to be occupied, but they actually retained its native name. Just as I placed the camp of Claudius on the very site of Colchester, so would I place there this first Colony, a conclusion confirmed by all discoveries on that site and rendered probable by its coincidence with the previous camp and the second Colony, by its striking situation, and by its easier access to the sea. "Wherever," says Mr. Freeman, "the British settlement was, I cannot bring myself to believe that the site of the Colony was other than the site of the present town."—*Arch. Journ.* xxxiv. 50.

[5] There seems some doubt as to the exact date. Jenkins is probably right in fixing it at 50 A.D.

[6] Tac. Ann. xiv. 31.—"Pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris 'captivos,' 'servos' appellando."

[7] *Id.* "Coloniam nullis munimentis septam; quod ducibus nostris parum provisum erat dum amœnitati priusquam usui consulitur."

[8] *Id.* 32. "Sed quia procul Suetonius aberat petivere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium."

[9] *Id.* "tutelâ templi freti." Mr. Jenkins, by what must be pronounced

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Temple had arisen[1] in their midst, they revelled, in haughty[2] carelessness "until the flood came, and took them all away." At the wrongs of the outraged Boadicea the slumbering embers had leapt into flame, and the Britons were upon them. Huddled together in the Temple of the deified Claudius they were beset for two awful days by the surging host of their foes,—and then the Colony and its Colonists were swept from the face of the earth.[3]

But the Romans returned. Colonia Camulodunum sprang from its ashes, and the favoured spot, round which long clustered the traditions of British Sovereignty,[4] occupied in the eyes of the Annalist a greater importance than London. Nor did its prosperity cease. The unbroken series of Imperial coins which have been found throughout its length and breadth testify as eloquently to its continuous greatness as do the almost unique remains of its stately residences to the luxury and opulence of its Colonists. Whether the ill-starred Temple of Claudius was ever restored by this later Colony we have no means of telling[5]

an utter mis-translation, forces these words into his service, and maintains (*Temple of Claudius*, 1869, p. 1, 42, 45) that the "tutela" on which "they relied," was actually the existing (inner) Castle Bailey! Now, not only was the word Tutela never used as equivalent to περίβολος (sacred enclosure) but it *was* used, and commonly used, in the sense I have given it, and specially of divine protection. Thus Tacitus himself, in his 'Germania' (ch. 45), says of the Æstui "Matrem deum venerantur: *insigne superstitionis* formas aprorum gestant. *Id pro armis omnique tutelâ.*" So, also Cicero: "Apollo, *cujus in tutelâ* Athenas antiqui historici esse voluerunt," and, "salutem hominum in ejus (Jovis) esse *tutelâ*" and "dique deæque omnes quibus est *tutela* per agros." Compare Ovid "(Achilles) decus et *tutela* Pelasgi," and "(Philemon et Baucis) *templi tutela* fuere" (Met. viii. 713) so, of the guardian deity of a ship (Seneca Ep. 76. Virg. Æn x. 171) which was erected like the image of Claudius in his Temple. But besides all this the meaning of Tacitus is quite clear from the original passage. He tells us that they neglected all precautions to protect the Colony, or to remove the women and children, *because* they relied on this "tutela Templi," *i.e.*, on supernatural protection. I have gone into this question in detail, as it is necessary to expose such a rendering when it is made the basis of a theory.

[1] Tac. "Ad hæc templum Divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx æternæ dominationis aspiciebatur." This must have been before Claudius died (54 A.D.) as Seneca tells us he was worshipped here in his lifetime (Jenkins).

[2] Tac. "Quasi mediâ pace incauti."

[3] The small relieving force, arriving after the disaster, was itself surrounded, and the horse alone made its escape (Tac. xiv. 32.) The wretched Procurator, whose excesses had provoked the revolt, fled in terror to Gaul. (Ib.)

[4] See below.

[5] Here we have an instance of one of those unfounded assertions which disfigure Mr. Jenkins' arguments. "The Temple," he says (p. 20)," still

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but it is probable that the superstitious Romans,[1] who had trusted so vainly to the protection of its God, would subsequently think of him in the same light as did the French of the Emperor Napoleon after the disaster of Sedan. If so they would have completed that work of destruction which the rage of the Britons must have largely effected, and would have used its remains (as we know they did those of the dwelling-houses) in the construction and fortification of the new Colony.

The date of the erection of the famous[2] Walls, is a much controverted point.[3] Dr. Duncan, the author of an able Monograph[4] on the subject, places it as far back as the foundation of the second Colony, (*i.e.*, probably about 65 A.D.), and in this he is confirmed by the Quarterly Reviewer.[5] Mr. Jenkins attributes[6] them to Agricola (about 78 A.D.), Mr. Parker[7] to the Romanized Britons under Constantine, and Mr. Freeman, while admitting that it may with truth be called "a Roman Wall" is careful to remind[8] us that we have no means of estimating how much of it consists of subsequent repairs executed[9] *more Romano*.

To the lingering legends[10] of a Royal Colchester we haply

reared its dome" (why 'dome'?) "amid a wild waste of ruins, . . . *to use the words of Tacitus*, still bearing the appearance of an imperishable citadel." Now Tacitus said nothing of the kind. His description of the Temple expressly refers to the time of its *erection*, and is even then modified by the word *quasi*, here omitted by Mr. Jenkins.

[1] For their superstition see Tacitus' account of the consternation produced by omens of the disaster.

[2] "As the abiding wall of a still inhabited town, the Roman wall of Colchester is, I repeat, unique in Britain, and a Roman wall I do not scruple to call it." (Mr. Freeman's Address. *Arch. Journal* xxxiv. 47.)

"On the whole, the walls of Colchester may be advantageously compared with any other remains of the kind in this Island, or perhaps even on the Continent." . . . "These noble specimens of Roman Architecture constitute the chief object of interest to the explorer of the antiquities of Colchester." (Q.R. Vol. xcvii. p. 86, 87.)

It is earnestly to be hoped that every inhabitant of Colchester who takes a pride in his ancient town, will strive to arrest the cruel mischief which wantonly destroys the fine southern wall.

[3] Mr. Markham (*Life of Fairfax*, p. 310) informs us that "they were the work, no doubt, of the Normans (!) but built out of Roman materials." Fortunately, Mr. Markham's statements can need no refutation.

[4] Essex Arch. Soc's. Trans. Vol. I.; and Duncan's *History of the Walls of Colchester*, 1855.

[5] Q.R. xcvii. p. 86.

[6] *Temple of Claudius* p. 21.

[7] Letter to the *Essex Standard*, 18th August, 1876.

[8] Address: Arch. Journal xxxiv. 47.

[9] See p. 14.

[10] Q.R. xcvii. p. 98, 99.

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may trace the myth of King Coel, stereotyped in the pages of Geoffrey. According to this veracious writer, Coel was first, Duke of Colchester, and then, towards the end of the third century, King of all Britain. Round him and his so-called daughter, the celebrated Helena, Saint and Empress, there soon was freely woven a wreath of popular legend.[1]

"Coel was a noble man and much power hadde and honde
Erle he was of Colchester here in his londe
And after his name Colchestre is cleped as iche understond"[2]

.

"A daughter had he and none other heyre
Elyne that hyght farre passing good and fayre.
Buryed at Carecolune he was, his own cytee.
Greatly commended, well famed, and laudisee
Both on this side and beyond sea,
Eleven yere regnyd in great dignitee,"[3]

The marriage of Constantius with Helena, the daughter of Coel,[4] and the birth of their son, the Emperor Constantine, at

[1] Just as the Helena and Coel tradition became in time associated with the *Castle*, as being the most striking vestige of antiquity in the town, so the *Walls* also shared, at one time, the same honour. This curious fact I find in Hoveden (end of twelfth Cent.), "accepitque filiam regis Britannici de Colecestre, cui nomen erat Coel, scilicet Helenam. . . . Helena vero, Britanniæ nobilis alumna, Londoniam muro, quod adhuc superest, cinxisse fertur, *et Colecestriam mœnibus adornasse.*

[2] Robert of Gloucester.

[3] Hardyng c. 59.

[4] The very existence of "Old King Cole," the Eponymous Hero of Colchester, is now as good as disproved; but 'King Coel's Kitchen,' 'King Coel's Pump,' 'King Coel's Hall' (see Chap. IV.), and 'Colkyng's Castle,' attest the local conviction of his reality. It is a pity that the Ordnance Survey carelessly perpetuates the delusion by recording the Castle to be built "on the supposed site of the Palace of King Coel." This suggestion is obviously taken from a passage in the (spurious) 'Chronicle of Colchester,' which states that Eudo built the Castle "in fundo palatii Coelis quondam regis." Mr. Jenkins justly points out that the fabulous character of this whole 'Chronicle' deprives its statement—"Eudo construxit Castrum Colecestriæ" (Eudo built the Castle of Colchester)—of any authority. In the natural course of events, the *Castle* became associated with the legend of Helena; and Le Beau tells us (1707) "on y voit encore les ruines d' un vieux chateau, dans lequel on prétend que naquirent Hèléne et son fils." Lustily as our English Antiquaries, from Camden to Morant, have contended for Colchester as the birthplace of Helena, such a pretension can no longer be maintained. The above fabulous chronicle is our only authority for her having founded the well-known chapel, dedicated to herself; and as for her connection with the Arms of Colchester—"a cross inragled between four crowns" (Camden)—I refer the reader to Mr. King's learned letter (*Essex Standard*, 3rd Sept., 1881), and to *Notes and Queries*, 5th s., vol. ix. p. 348. As for Coel himself, it is possible that the persistence of the myth may point to some earlier and lost tradition, of which it is the confused echo.

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Colchester, were beliefs that took a firm hold of Mediæval fancy. The glamour which surrounded the name of the first Christian Emperor must have made them acceptable to the Clergy, as well as soothing to the national pride, but it is much to be regretted that the enthusiastic Morant upheld, in his zeal for Colchester, so baseless a fabrication.

I would here hazard a conjecture of a somewhat daring character, namely that the coincidence between the Camelot of the Arthurian Cycle—or *Camelot dun* (the city of Camelot) as it would run in British—and the Latinised form *Camulodunum*[1] is so marked that it can hardly be accidental. We shall doubtless be told that the original of King Arthur was a petty Devonshire Chieftain, dwelling on the mound of Cadbury. I reply that in the Arthur of Camelot we have distinct traces of the great Cunobelin (the recognised progenitor of the native line of Kings) as the last free Sovereign of the Britons, just as we unmistakeably detect in that Arthur who is the Champion of Christianity—and who, setting out from Britain at the head of his Army, is eventually crowned at Rome—the tradition of that Constantine the Great who was believed to have sprung from Colchester. Nay, does not Arthur himself tells us, with characteristic contempt for History, "I have understood that *Belinus* and Brennius, knights of Britain, held the Roman Empire in their hands for many days, and also *Constantine, the son of Helen*, which is open evidence, not only that we owe Rome no tribute,[2] but that I, *being descended from them*, may, of right, myself claim the Empire." Is it, then, too much to ask, that when,—in the Laureate's Vision,—we see

> "The river, winding clearly,
> Down to towered Camelot."

we may be suffered to roam in fancy to the mystical birthplace of Constantine, to that "Royal Seat" of the great Cunobelin, which arose by the waters of the Colne?

But it is high time that we should return to the Colchester of sober history. Its great antiquity as a Roman Colony, and the noble Walls with which it was surrounded, would naturally

[1] This suggestion is without prejudice to the *derivation* of Camelot or Camulod. Indeed, after all the erudition that has been expended on this vexed question, we seem as far as ever from any satisfactory conclusion.

[2] Compare the reply of Cymbeline (Cunobelin) on a similar occasion:—

> "Our subjects, Sir,
> Will not endure his yoke; and for ourself
> To show less sovereignty than they, must needs
> Appear unkinglike."—CYMBELINE, ACT III. SCENE 5.

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give it an exceptionally substantial appearance; and the traveller from London, as he approached the town, and drew nigh to the great bastioned Gateway,[1] of which the traces may yet be seen, must have passed along an Avenue of Tombs,[2] possibly recalling that far-famed Appian Way which Paul the Apostle had traversed not long before, a prisoner, on his way to Rome. But far and wide the teaching of that prisoner had been carried by Roman converts, till it reached at length the shores of the Colne. If reliance can be placed on the list[3] of those Bishops, who, in the year 314, attended the council of Arles, we may gather from it the interesting fact that one of the three English Prelates was, in all probability,[4] a Bishop of Colchester. With him were the Bishops of York and London, the two other leading towns in Roman Britain. Their mention reminds us that they were now becoming of more importance[5] than Colchester. York had been raised by the advance of the Roman Legions to the same position, as a Border Capital, which Colchester had held in the days of Agricola; and as it had thus lost in military importance, so in commercial wealth it could not hope to rival the growing Port of London.

The character of the Roman Power in Britain was peculiar. It was essentially a military occupation. Relying on its walled cities connected by their network of military roads, the Central Government made no efforts to Romanize the country districts. Repression and centralization were the leading features of the system; and Britain lay crushed beneath the twin burdens of conscription and a pitiless taxation. Revelling in the sense of

[1] Known as the Balkerne Gate. See Dr. Duncan's paper, and *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.* (1846).

[2] This was the extra-mural cemetery, extending from the present hospital to the workhouse. In it was found the celebrated 'Centurion Slab.'

[3] Possibly tampered with (see Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles.* vi. p. 422, and Bened, Editors of Councils, vol. ii.)

[4] "Colonia Londinensium" in the original. Mr. Jenkins and the Quarterly Reviewer agree with Ussher, Selden, and Spelman in believing that Colchester is here meant (the word being corrupted). But according to the writer of *The British Church* (Ch. Quart. Review, Oct., 1881, part v. p. 6) "the preponderance of recent opinion seems to be in favour of Caerleon-on-Usk." The claim of Lincoln is also supported. It must be observed that Mr. Jenkins' statement, concerning this Bishop, that "his Cathedral must have been the former Temple of Claudius" *i.e.*, Colchester Castle, is obviously absurd, as no such transfer could have taken place till the official establishment of Christianity, which which was not till years afterwards.

[5] They were the seats of Government, where the two Præfects resided.

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power, like the English in India a century ago, the Roman settlers treated the natives as a servile caste, bound them down by law to the soil on which they toiled, and denied them the use of arms. Thus it was that when the Legions were withdrawn, the Britons fell an easy prey to their savage but free invaders. Even in the days of Imperial rule, the first waves of the great "Folks-wandering" were already breaking on the British shore. The most exposed portion of the coast was naturally that which lay round the estuaries of the Thames and the Colne, and, to guard against this danger, the Romans appointed a special officer, "The Count[1] of the Saxon shore." His residence has, with much probability, been placed at Mersea, from which point he would command almost all the shore infested by the Saxon Pirates. "Foes are they," sang a Roman poet, "fierce beyond other foes; they are sea-wolves that live on the pillage of the world."[2] But, with the departure of their defenders, fresh dangers beset the helpless Britons who dwelt behind the walls of Colchester. As the light of history is for awhile withdrawn, and darkness closes upon the scene, we catch a last glimpse of the ill-fated Colony, threatened at once by land and sea, while the decendants of its 'Veterans' are vainly endeavouring to nerve the Britons for the strife.

The Roman Empire was breaking up. But slowly and reluctantly did the Emperors loosen their hold on Britain. Our evidence of the fate of Colchester is purely inferential. The fact that its series of Roman coins closes, about 370, with those of Valentinian, would seen to imply that it was under him deserted by its masters. Traces have been discovered of some violent catastrophe, possibly the first capture of the Colony by the marauding Picts[3] from the North. Allured, in one of their Southern raids, by the wealth of the goodly Colony, they swooped down like eagles on their quarry from the wooded heights of "Pictsbury."[4] "Hereupon a timorous guard was placed upon the top of the wall, where they pined away day and night with fearful hearts. On the other side the enemy plied them with hooked weapons, by which the cowardly defendants being

[1] Comes littoris Saxonici.

[2] Green's *History of the English People* (1875) p. 7.

[3] Not "so called" (as Mr. Watson gravely believes), "from their painting their bodies" (*Ancient Colchester* p. 9) but as the Latin equivalent of the native "Brith" *i.e.*, Briton, they being merely the unconquered Northern Britons. (Herbert: *Britannia after the Romans.* Zeuss: *Gramm. Celt.* i. 174.)

[4] Now known as 'Pictsbury Ramparts' on the North of Bergholt Heath.

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miserably dragged off the wall, were dashed against the ground. In short, forsaking their wall, they fled and were dispersed."[1] The freebooters, gorged with spoil, hurried off to their Northern fastnesses, but only to return in succeeding years plundering with fire and sword.

The wretched Britons, goaded to despair, sought once more for foreign help. Saxon pirates were hovering off the coast, like vultures round a battle-field, and with them the natives bargained for that help which Rome refused. The sequel was inevitable. The mercenary Arms which could triumph over the Picts would naturally obtain an easier victory when turned against the Britons themselves. The Pirate-leaders summoned their countrymen, and the Saxon Conquest began.

It is not for eighty years after the first Saxon onslaught, that we find them, in 527, establishing a Kingdom in Essex. The "Saxon Shore" expands into the land of the "East Saxons;" and the memory of the Roman "Colonia" is henceforth preserved in "Colchester." Whether the Saxons had to storm the town is, I think, doubtful. The inhabitants, by a timely surrender, might hope for more favourable terms than if they prolonged a hopeless resistance, and indeed might not be averse to resigning themselves to Saxon rule. The fate of Anderida[2] was the alternative. Enraged at its obstinate defence, the conquerors had not only butchered its people, but had destroyed its massive walls. But we find no destruction of the walls of Colchester; nor do we read of massacres in connection with the settlement of Essex. The difficult problem of the fate of the native population here again confronts us. I have pointed[3] out that in the præ-Saxon derivation of the names of the river and apparently of the three districts which represent the ancient Camulodunum, and also in the persistence of the original boundary, we seem to have evidence of an unbroken native occupation. It is believed that the witness of the ancient cemetery points to the same conclusion.[4] When we add the consideration that life in the town would be admittedly distasteful to the Saxons, and yet that it continued to be inhabited, and also that

[1] See Bede's account of the storming of the Roman Wall by the Picts.
[2] Now 'Pevensey.'
[3] See p. 4.
[4] "That they mixed with the Romano-British population in many places, instead of driving it out, ... is proved by the Saxon burial places in these cases being generally mixed up with or adjacent to those of the Romans, as at *Colchester*, &c. This is a fact which is becoming everyday more evident." (*Brit. Arch. Jour.* ii. 51.)
Mr. Roach Smith considered this cemetery as "late Roman, or early Saxon, or *probably both*."

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the 'art and mystery' of making the celebrated Roman tiles was handed down, as we shall see,[1] to later ages, we cannot but believe that a considerable body of natives, oppressed, it may be, and tributary to their conquerors, lingered on in Colchester.[2] Up from the sea the Saxons streamed. Leaving the Fingrings and the Brightlings to settle by the waters of the Colne, the Fratings, the Tendrings, and the Thorings, pushed their way from Brightlingsea Creek to the uplands of the 'Tendring Hundred,' "and called the lands after their own names." But from the site of the Roman Colony they held, for the time, aloof. And yet, as I shall hope to show, there remain to this day, round the very walls of Colchester, such strange survivals of primitive Teutonic custom that, while unable to accept the modern theory of the utter extermination of the Natives, we must admit that the Saxon conquest had impressed its stamp upon the town.

For nearly four centuries the history of Colchester is a blank. We are left to conjecture from the features of its position what that history must have been. And these were its two features. In the first place, it resumed its importance as a border Capital, lying as it did at one extremity of that line,[3] which, running across England, divided Mercia from Wessex. In the second place, it occupied a post of danger in a district peculiarly exposed to the incursions of Danish Pirates. By these two

[1] see Chap. IV.

[2] Compare the case of Exeter, a similar Roman town (*Norman Conquest*, 1st ed. i. 308). "Up to the time of Æthelstan, Exeter had remained a joint possession of Teutonic and Celtic inhabitants. No doubt there was . . . an Englishry and a Welshry, and we may be equally certain that the English inhabitants formed a dominant class or patriciate among their fellow-burghers." Though the decided views which Mr. Freeman holds on the English Conquest are well known, he treats this particular question with great moderation, and is loth to repudiate Dr. Guest's belief in the historic continuity of Colchester (*Arch. Jour.* xxiv. 57), "The origin," he tells us (*Norman Conquest* v. 470), "of our most ancient towns is shrouded in utter darkness. All that we can say is that, if London and York, *Colchester* and Lincoln, were—a point which I would not take upon me to determine—continuously inhabited from Roman times, they had no political succession from Roman times." This is directed against Mr. Coote's theory *(Neglected Facts of English History* and *The Romans of Britain)*, of which Mr. Freeman's full criticism will be found in Macmillan's Mag. vol. xxii. *(On the alleged permanence of Roman civilisation in England)*. While questioning, therefore, the extirpation of the natives, we must heartily disclaim that "*political* succession from Roman times" which Mr. Freeman so justly denies, and must recognise that the Roman *Colonia* was supplanted by an English Town.

[3] This was the famous Watling street line which roughly divided the Saxon from the Anglian (afterwards the Danish) districts.

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considerations its fate was shaped. As the advanced post of the East *Saxons* against the *Angles* of East Anglia, it had its share in the struggle for supremacy between the Overlords of the North and of the South. So too, throughout the ninth Century, while the Northern Vikings were darting up each creek and river,[1] the men of Colchester must often have beheld with terror from their ancient walls the mystical Raven[2] which fluttered above the war ship of the Danish Järl. From wintering it may be, in the Järls' Fjord,[3] and encamping among the marshes of Mersea,[4] they became permanent settlers at Kirby and Thorpe, and, by the peace of Wedmore in 878, masters of half England. Sadly must Alfred have abandoned his East-Saxon subjects, while he trained his son to avenge the loss.

The tenth century is ushered in by a welcome glimmer of light, and we are told how Colchester was rescued in the year 913. While his gallant sister, "the Lady of the Mercians," was storming Derby and Leicester, Edward himself was freeing "the land of the East Saxons." The spirit of his countrymen was stirred, and a rising of Volunteers had carried Colchester while the King was still on his way. "There[5] gathered mickle folk on harvest, either of Kent and of Surrey, and of East Saxons, and of each of the nighest Boroughs, and fare to Colchestre, and beset the borough all round, and there fought till they had won it, and the folk all slew, and took all that there within was, but the men that there fled over the wall."[6]

[1] They even penetrated 20 miles up the Lea in their war-ships, in 896.

[2] Believed to open its mouth and flap its wings before victory, and droop in presage of defeat.

[3] Alresford?

[4] Mersea "the marsh-island." The expression 'Mersea *Island*' is a pleonasm.

[5] English Chronicle: Freeman's translation.

[6] May we believe that the recollection of this victory was preserved in our midst to our own days, in the name of the *Dead* (or *Deadman's*) *Lane?* This lane, according to Morant, is the one running beneath the North Wall, from North Street to Rye Gate. Can it mark the spot where the Danes "fled over the wall," fleeing, we may presume, to their galleys on the stream? My ground for this suggestion is that at Rye, in Sussex, there is still a *Deadman's Lane*, which tradition has always asserted to be the burial place of the Danes slain in the battle of 893. Compare with this the English Chronicle, edited by Davies *(Cam. Soc.)*, p. 116. "And he entered into a lewde lane. And then the Duke asked a pore man that dwelled in the same lane, 'What calle ye me this lane?' The pore man answered and seyde, 'Forsooth, my Lord, it is called *the Dede Lane*.'" This was at Bury St. Edmund's, in 1447. To take an instance from more recent times, the lane at Bradford, where, in 1642, the Royalists fell most thickly, was ever after known as "*the Dead Lane*." We may then safely assume that this Colchester lane was the scene of some

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The victorious Edward soon followed, at the head of the army of Wessex. "That ilk year, afore Martinmas, fared Edward king with West Saxons' fyrd[1] to Colneeaster, and repaired the borough, and made it new there where it to-broken was." I shall have occasion to refer to this important passage in connection with the origin of the Castle. It will suffice here to observe that Colchester was one of some twenty fortresses, extending in a line from Chester to Maldon, by which Edward and his sister intended to keep the Danes and Angles in check. Its advanced position[2] would enable them to hold the line of the Colne, and thus to secure, on the Blackwater, a second line of defence. And now, for seventy years,[3] the land had peace. It was in the early part of this period that Colchester was honoured with the presence of Æthelstan the Magnificent himself. He is recorded (though the fact has escaped notice) to have held, in 931, his Easter *Gemot* (court) at Colchester, "a town well-known unto all men."[4] Possibly, as at Exeter not long before, the Assembly was intended to commemorate its recovery, and to identify it more closely still with the cause of the triumphant English.[5] Then, once more, we come to a Scandinavian invasion, the last and most terrible of them all. For two generations[6] every portion of England lay in turn at the mercy of the Northmen. But though Essex could not escape, Colchester itself may have enjoyed a comparative immunity, through "the provident care"[7] of Edward. Its walls, strengthened and abundantly manned, would have involved a lengthy siege,[8] and it was the sudden raid on a defenceless town that charmed the rovers of the sea. It was on one of these free-booting expeditions, some nine centuries ago,[9] when the Danes, having plundered Ipswich, were sailing to plunder Maldon, that the heroic Brihtnoth, "Ealdorman of the East-Saxons," resolved to check their ravages. Hurrying Southwards, on his

memorable slaughter, and most probably of the slaughter of the Danes in nine hundred and thirteen. (There was no slaughter at this point during the famous Siege.)

[1] "Fyrd"=army.

[2] It was at the apex of a triangle, with Maldon and Witham at the angles of its base.

[3] 913-983.

[4] 10 Kalend. Apr., 931, "in villâ omnibus notissimâ quæ Colneceaster nuncupatur." (Kemble's *Codex*.)

[5] *Norman Conquest*, i. 308.

[6] 983-1042.

[7] Speed: *Theatre of Great Britain* (1606).

[8] As was repeatedly shewn in the case of London.

[9] 991.

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way to intercept the foe, he must have traversed the streets of the ancient town, entering by the Ipswich road, and passing, amidst his henchmen, beneath the arch of Head Gate, as he rode forth to meet his death at the glorious fight of Maldon.[1]

This sketch may fitly conclude with the reign of Edward the Confessor. Of the condition of Colchester in the middle of the eleventh Century we have a rough but faithful picture in those references to 'the days of King Edward,' which are to be found in the pages of 'Domesday.' The Colchester of that day comprised the district now known as the Borough and Liberty.[2] The Borough (or *burh*, as it was then termed,) was as it were the citadel of the district, and the whole population, with many of their neighbours, would, in time of war, seek refuge within its walls. In peace the *burh* would be thinly denizened, the majority of the inhabitants being a rural folk, who had their dwelling among the fields and flocks. The entire population probably numbered over two thousand souls. Of this district the King was Lord in the same sense as any private thegn was Lord of a rural manor.[3] Colchester, in fact, for practical purposes, was simply a large manor, administered for the King by a royal steward. Every house and every acre of land which it contained were held by its burgesses as tenants of the King, except that portion of the district which was kept in the hands of the Crown.[4] The area, having been so long inhabited, was more extensively cleared than the surrounding country, but was bounded on almost every side by forest, marsh, and fen. This was more especially the case on the North, where the King's Wood hemmed it closely in.

Greenstead, though annexed, then as now, to Colchester, was the private estate of a wealthy squire,—Godric by name,—who dwelt with his four sons in his rude ancestral hall.[5] By its side there rose a little church, of which St. Andrew was the patron saint, and which had doubtless been founded by the family, for it was then in the gift of Godric.

With the exception of this estate the greater part of the land was occupied by small holders, but there were a few larger properties which deserve special notice. Foremost was that of the Bishop of London (Colchester being then in that See). Within the walls the boundary of his property is still marked

[1] See the famous song of the Battle of Maldon, in the 'English Chronicle.'
[2] On the antiquity of the Liberty see above.
[3] The English townships were already passing into manors.
[4] And except also Godric's estate and the Bishop's land *within* the walls.
[5] Of which "Greenstead Hall" must now occupy the site.

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by Head Street and by the two converging lanes which lead to St. Mary's Church.[1] Without them his estate may be roughly represented by the present parish of St. Mary's. Next in importance were the lands of Thurbern, then the chief man in Colchester. He was entitled to hold a court of his own, and to administer justice therein to the burgesses who dwelt around his Hall. There was also a very large and valuable glebe belonging to St. Peter's Church, the only ecclesiastical edifice mentioned within the walls.

Farm-life, which to the Saxon conquerors had appeared so utterly distasteful, had subsequently acquired a charm for their descendants, and many of the landowners of the County had houses in Colchester attached to their estates. It is interesting to find that the ill-fated Harold, then only an ambitious Earl, held, among his vast possessions, four houses in Colchester. Down by the river were the three water-mills,[2] the North Mill, the Middle Mill, and the East Mill, and around them lay an equally coveted possession, the meadows by the waterside.[3]

Such was the good old Town in the days before the Conquest, when King Edward sat upon the throne, and the folk dwelt in peace.

[1] In the centre of this space there arose after the Conquest that large building which, after many changes, eventually played so prominent a part in the History of the Reformation and of the Siege. I allude to the King's Head Inn.

[2] Windmills were as yet unknown.

[3] I am indebted for these details to the Articles on this subject in Vol. V. of the *Antiquary*.

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II.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTLE.

"We take no little pride in our grand old Castle, of origin much disputed." These words occur in the Address presented[1] by the people of Colchester to the Members of the Royal Archæological Institute on the occasion of their Colchester Meeting. Three theories have been held with regard to the origin of the existing Castle of Colchester. It has been in turn attributed to the Romans, the Saxons, and the Normans. Before discussing the merits of these theories, it will be interesting to observe by whom they have been supported, and at what periods they have been held. This enquiry may throw some light on the rise and progress of Archæology.

"In the midst of Colchester," says Camden (writing in the days of Elizabeth), "stands a Castle ready to fall with age; historians report it to have been built by Edward, son to Alfred, when he repaired Colchester." Norden, the topographer of Essex, writes, at the same time, as follows:—"Colchester, in the times of Saxons, was much battered and ruined by the wars of the Danes. Edward the Elder repaired it, and built a strong Castle in it, of which there are still some remains, but ruined almost with age." Speed, writing some years later (1606), also attributes it to Edward, but gives a useful account of it:—"Within the Town of Colchester, towards the East, is situated an old Castle, and elder ruins, upon a trench containing two acres of ground, where, as yet, may be seen the provident care they took against all ensuing assaults." Based on such authorities as these, the Saxon theory appears to have remained unquestioned, except among the vulgar, till the days of George I. We find Le Beau, in 1707, repeating the same story,—"le château de la Colchester ne fut bâti que vers le commencement du dixiême siècle par Roi Edouard, fils d' Alfred." But now, partly from the evidence of the spurious "Chronicle,"[2] and partly from an intelligent observation of

[1] 1 August, 1876.

[2] The "Chronicle" appears to have been brought into notice about this time, by Mr. Hickeringill, who made a translation of it.

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that which the Castle itself afforded, there arose an alternative theory, that its founder was Eudo the Norman. There is a valuable Print of the Castle, published by Buck, 25th March, 1738. At its foot we read—

"This Castle is said to have been built by Edward, son of King Alfred, soon after the year 910, about which time he had taken many towns from the Danes, which he fortified with Castles. Others, with greater probability, have related that the town, with its Castle, having been destroyed by the Danes, and lying in ruins, William the Conqueror granted it to the famous Eudo Dapifer, who built the Castle on the site of an ancient Palace.[1] The present proprietor is Charles Gray, Esq."

Beneath this are the Arms of Gray impaling those of Webster. The last authority, I believe, who upheld the Saxon theory was Mr. King (1776), to whose learned paper I shall have occasion to refer below.

Mr. Jenkins was wrong in asserting that Morant was the first to promulgate the Norman theory. Putting aside, for the present, the famous passage in Dugdale[2] (1682), I find a noteworthy description of the Castle in a remarkable view of Colchester, published by Bowles, in 1724 (*i.e.*, eight years earlier than the supposed earliest view of the Castle[3]). Among the separate views appended to that of the Town, is one of the Castle, with the following description:—

"The Castle, a magnificent structure, in which are yet visible divers marks of its ancient grandeur. Most are of opinion it was founded by King Coel, and gave birth to Helena, daughter of King Coel and mother of Constantine;[4] but, according to others, it owes its original to y^e^ Normans, for 'tis very observable that this vast pile is rear'd upon arches, which manner of building (authentic history affirms) was never used in England till y^e^ settling of that people here."

Morant, a quarter of a century later, declared finally for Eudo as its founder (mainly on documentary grounds), and that view has prevailed ever since. There was a large plan of Colchester published in 1767, with a small picture of the Castle, and, beneath it, the inscription,—

"This fine old structure is supposed to have been built by Eudo Dapifer, upon the remains of King Coel's Palace."

[1] This expression proves that the information was derived from the "Chronicle" ("in fundo palatii Coeli").

[2] Eudo Dapifer Regis Normanniæ qui construxit castrum Colcestriæ.

[3] Mr. Jenkins says of Vertue's Views, "They are dated 1732, and are the earliest artistic views of the Castle now extant." This 1724 Print appears to be scarce, as I have never seen it at Colchester, and only found it in the Gough collection. It has an apparently unique view of St. John's Gate, precisely as it was left by the siege. It also gives more of St. Botolph's, as remaining, than does any subsequent Print.

[4] This was the popular account, as given to Evelyn, 1656.

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It is important to observe how the worthless statement of the so-called "Chronicle" has been persistently repeated, till it has gradually acquired a most undeserved authority.

There only remains the Roman theory, the last of the three, to be put forth. It was first enunciated by the Society of Antiquaries, in 1732. They issued engravings of the Castle[1] (executed by Vertue), as "Arx olim Romanorum munitissima" (once a most formidable citadel of the Romans). It is supposed, however, that the Roman origin was not definitely put forth till Roy's work appeared in 1793. But I have found among the Round Papers (see Preface) a letter to Charles Gray, Esq., M.P., from that eminent Antiquary, Dr. Stukely. It is dated 5th July, 1753, and contains the Doctor's objections to Morant's theory of the Castle. "I am persuaded," he says, "'tis a Roman building as much as your walls, or London walls, or the Tower of London. They are all Roman works of the same time and manner, and probably the same hand. I am convinced yours was an Armentarium or granary to lay up corn in."[2] Roy (in his posthumous work[3]) improved on the suggestion by starting the idea of the Temple of Claudius. Fosbrooke[4] followed with the suggestion that it was a Roman Fortress of the 3rd or 4th century. The Claudian Temple thesis appears to have slumbered till 1850, when the Rev. Mr. Jenkins revived it with much energy. Supported in his views by Mr. Marsh's Notes on Domesday, he propagated them vigorously, as long as he lived. His mantle would seem to have fallen on Mr. Buckler, in whom this singular theory has found a spirited exponent.

Of these three theories we may at once dismiss the Saxon as practically abandoned, and as founded on a misconception of the passage in the Chronicles. There is no allusion in them whatever to Edward having built, or even repaired, a *Castle* at Colchester, and, even if there were, it has been clearly shown by Clark, Freeman, Parker, &c., that the Saxon "Castles" were comparatively weak and insignificant.[5]

[1] Vetusta Monumenta, vol. i.

[2] Cf. Pearson i. 86.

[3] Roy in his *Military Antiquities* (1793) makes the suggestion incidentally in a foot-note to p. 188—"This (the Temple) could be no other than the present Castle."

[4] *Cyclopædia of Antiquity*, &c.

[5] See Clark on Military Architecture (*Arch. Journ.* xxiv.) Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, 1st Ed., ii. 187, &c.) Parker on Hedingham Castle (*Essex Arch. Trans.*, 1869). The absence also of a mound tells strongly against the Saxon theory.

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Thus there only remain the Norman and the Roman theories. It is but natural that criticisms on the latter should seem to scientific Archæologists a sheer waste of time. In writing, however, for the unscientific Public, it is imperatively necessary to assail a theory which is sturdily, and, indeed, almost exclusively, propagated. Nor has it met with the most judicious treatment at the hands of Archæologists. It has been scorned by Mr. Hartshorne, abused by Mr. Freeman, scoffed at by Mr. Parker,[1]—and yet the Roman theory remains, ridiculed but not refuted.

Let us at once draw a distinction between the wild theories of Mr. Jenkins, based, as I am afraid we shall find, on mis-statements, mis-translations, and unfounded assertions, and the more sober criticisms advanced by Mr. Buckler. It is obvious that so extraordinary a theory as that of the Claudian Temple requires to be supported both by external (*i.e.*, historical) and by internal (*i.e.*, architectural) proof. Mr. Buckler modestly confines himself to the latter, but of course if the historical argument can be shown to break down, it will be needless to demolish the architectural argument as well.

A convenient summary of their case is to be found in Mr. Marsh's Note to his "Domesday of Essex," so, though somewhat lengthy, it is worth inserting here.

"The long disputed question when and by whom the Castle was built "is not to be settled in a passing note, but the reader may like to have a "summary of the arguments. The exploded theories of the Castle "having been built in the reign of Diocletian, by the legendary King "Coel, who only exists on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Lib. "V. c. 6), or by Edward the Elder, son of Alfred (Camden 124, and "Norden 18, citing no authority, whereas Sax. Chron., A.D. 921, merely "says he rebuilt the town walls), need hardly now be noticed. Those "who contend that the *Normans* built the Castle, rest chiefly[2] on the "authority of a passage in Dugdale's Monasticon (I. 721—Ed., 1683), "which, in an incidental mention of Eudo, says he built Colchester Castle; "and on an assertion in the 'Colchester Chronicle' to the same effect. "The first is manifestly written by or after someone who is ignorant of "Eudo's history, for he says Rohaise, the wife of Eudo, was the *widow* of "Richard Fitz-Gislebert, whereas (4 Dugd. Monast. 607; Ellis Ed.:— "giving a detailed history of Eudo) she was married to him 'ante habiles "annos,' and was the *daughter* of Richard, by his wife, also named "Rohaise. The second Authority is merely a note, manuscript and "anonymous, on the flyleaf of the Colchester Oath-Book (*vide* Cromwell's "Colchester, vol. ii. p. 417), now, I believe, lost, and which is utterly "unworthy of credit, since it gravely details Geoffrey of Monmouth's

[1] "For a modern Architect like Mr. Buckler to say it was Roman, was childish nonsense."

[2] This, of course, is not so. The *Architecture* is the point on which they "chiefly" rely.

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"fabulous story of Coel, Duke of Kaer Colvin, King of Britain, and "Helena, as his daughter (Gibbon, ch. xiv. note 8); and betrays gross "ignorance of Eudo's doings by the assertion that he merely repaired "some old buildings of Helena to found his Abbey of St. John, whereas "he not only built it up *ab initio*, but at very considerable trouble "and expense. (4 Dugd. Monast. 607, Ell.) It is not improbable that "the unnamed MS. (the only reference in I. Dugd. 724) is this very fly-"leaf, but the two Authorities (whether resting one on the other, or "independent) are equally untrustworthy. Those who support the "*Roman* theory say that a temple was built at Colchester, 'quasi arx "eternæ dominationis' (Tac. Lib. xiv. c. 31); that it was so strongly "fortified, that in the insurrection of A.D. 61 the Romans fled to it, 'tutelâ "templi freti,' and that a handful of half-armed defenders held out in it "for two days (Ib. c. 32). Richard of Cirencester[1] calls it 'arx triumphalis' "(Hatcher's Ed. p. 122). They think (and are partially borne out by "Spelman, Selden, Usher, and Heylin) that Colchester was, in the 4th "century, made an episcopal see, and that the Temple of Claudius was "(as was most natural) turned into a Cathedral, which, on the re-"establishment of Christianity, after its temporary extinction in these "parts, became the Church, and this, according to them, is the 'tota "ecclesia' so emphatically here mentioned, and which, at the time of "the Survey, belonged to Eustace. However this may be, they contend "that such a building as the Temple could not have disappeared, and "judging from the architecture, the materials (the bricks are not as Mr. "Morant asserts—I. 7—in broken pieces, but, as a general rule, remark-"ably entire) and the mode of building, this Castle is not a structure "rebuilt by Normans out of old materials, but Roman in its entirety, "excepting only the new Norman arch inserted in the old gate; and, if "so, what could so immense a building (otherwise unaccountably un-"mentioned) be but the Temple of Claudius, with its Apse, Podium, and "Adytum, which are still, they say, to be distinctly traced. As a "negative argument, to shew that Eudo could not have built it, they say "that, as prime favourite of both the Williams, he could have lost none "of his possessions before Christmas, 1091, when by a charter (in Brit. "Mus. MS. 315 of the Harleian No. 15, pencilled 72) King William II. "granted *(not confirmed)* to him Civitatem de Colecestrâ, et turrim (the "Castle) et Castellum (the walls round it), which, therefore, he did not "build but received already built. Eustace was unquestionably deprived "of his fiefs by William II. (Sax. Chron., 1088); but he probably had "previously fortified the old Arx and Templum into a Fortress, for fear "of an invasion of the Danes (Thierry, 1085), which would account for "the building here mentioned as 'Tota Ecclesia' being called in the "grant to Eudo 'Turris et Castellum.' Eudo certainly got possession of "the forfeited estates in Colchester. (IV. Dugd. Monast., 607) and it was "no doubt on the Charter above cited that his possession was founded. "The Society of Antiquaries in 1732, and General Roy in 1793, thought the "building Roman, as they have recorded, the former by a Print preserved "in the Castle Library, and the latter in his published Work (p. 183)."

I have thought it right to insert this Note *in extenso* that no argument on the Roman side might be omitted. But when we examine the supposed history, what do we find? It has

[1] Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary has, of course, long been decided to be a forgery.

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been shewn in the preceding chapter that the 'tutela" can only be pressed into the service by a daring mistranslation, and that there is actually *no proof whatever* that the Temple survived the insurrection. The whole account of its survival and its subsequent fortification was the baseless assertion of Mr. Jenkins. As to his "second phase," the British Cathedral, I have shewn that Christianity had not even been established as the Imperial Religion at the time when he believes the Castle to have been handed over for a Cathedral, and as Mr. Cutts well observed,[1] the Roman Authorities might have given up a temple, but would never have handed over a Fortress. And a Fortress, according to Mr. Jenkins, it had now become. Its subsequent existence as "Godric's Church" can be most emphatically disproved. Passing over the obvious absurdity of such a Castle having ever been described as a "Church," (especially by Normans, who could only have looked on it as a Castle,) the celebrated passage in Domesday has been unpardonably distorted. The property referred to consisted of four "mansiones terræ," one mill, one church, and four "hides" in Greenstead.[2] It has been shewn in the previous chapter that Greenstead then, as now, was treated as part of Colchester, and it was only from ignorance of this fact that the passage could be misinterpreted. The whole of this Greenstead estate, we are told in Domesday, had been divided into four portions. Its mill and its meadow-land were shared equally among them, but its *Church*[3] passed to Earl Eustace "whole" and undivided. "And in the quarter of Earl Eustace," runs the Survey, "is the whole of the Church, and the fourth of the Mill, and the fourth of the Meadow-land." Thus we see, firstly, that Mr. Jenkins' rendering of "tota" as signifying the "Peribolos"[4]

[1] I refer the reader to Mr. Cutts' book, as I have not space here to do justice to his arguments.

[2] In eâdem Colecestrâ tenuit Godricus I liber homo T.R.E., IV. mansiones terræ, & unam ecclesiam, et IV. hidas in Grenestedâ. Quo mortuo filii ejus terram in quat' dimiserunt partes. Quarum rex habet duas quibus pertinent duo domus in burgo, qui semper Regi redderunt consuetudinem et adhuc reddunt. In II. hidis . . . tunc I molendinum & modo dimidium. Et de duabus aliis partibus habet comes Eustacius I hidam et Johannes filius Walerami alteram hidam. Et in quartâ comitis Eustacii est *tota ecclesia*, et quarta pars molendini, et quarta pars prati. Et in quartâ parte Johannis . . . quarta pars molendini, quarta pars prati.

[3] Mr. Jenkins states *on the same page* that the "*Church* . . . can be no other than the present Castle," and that "Earl Eustace's *mansion* was certainly the Castle and its Peribolos" (!)

[4] "*The whole Church* signifies not only the Church but also the enclosure

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(*i.e.*, the Castle Bailey) as well as the Church is a violation of the plain sense; secondly, that his statement—"the Mill here referred to is what in later days was called the Middle Mill"—is erroneous and wholly unfounded;[1] thirdly, that "Godric's Church" was at Greenstead, and not within the walls. So much for the "tota ecclesia" delusion, a cardinal point in the Temple theory.

Such being the worth of the historical evidence, it is hardly necessary, as I said, to go into the Architectural question. Still there are some assertions which cannot be passed unnoticed. Foremost is that of the existence of a Dome or Domes.[2] "After the custom of the Romans," says Mr. Jenkins, "the Adytum . . . was surmounted by a Dome, of which "a crude sketch is given in the siege-map (1648). There is "little doubt but that the solid tower on the South side of the "Adytum was designed to be a counterpoise to the lateral "pressure of the Dome. A similar reason may also be as-"signed for the position of the solid tower adjoining the main "gateway, namely, to resist the pressure of a dome over the "staircase." The only vestige of actual proof adduced is the very doubtful trace of something which is *not* a dome in the siege-map (1648). This is disposed of by the still earlier map of 1610, in which there is a clear and remarkable representation of the Castle, with its four corner towers carried up in true Norman fashion. The great strength of the towers is capable of an easy explanation.[3]

Again, a strong point was naturally made by Mr. Jenkins of the famous "Cloaca" in the grounds of the Holly Trees. "A "large sewer," he says (p. 45), "built with Roman bricks and "Roman mortar, ran . . . *from under its Apse, eastward,* "and after taking a rather circuitous course, (!)" &c., and again (p. 65) "the Podium of the Adytum, within which is the mouth "of the main emissary, which ran Eastward."[4] Now if these

surrounding it, *i.e.*, the Peribolos" (p. 38). "The *whole* Church, that is the building and its walled close or peribolos" (p. 71).

[1] See chap. vii.

[2] Cf. p. 12, "Down to the 16th Century . . . the Dome . . . had remained unaltered," and p. 13, "Wheely . . took down the lofty Domes of the Apse and of the main staircase," and p. 20, "The Temple still reared its Dome," and p. 47, "The gilded (!) Dome of its Apse," &c. These statements are all based on the fertile imagination of Mr. Jenkins! Mr. Buckler (p. 13) accepts the theory of the Domes, which he traces to the Rev. J. S. Dolby.

[3] See chap iv.

[4] Cf. p. 24. "The Sewer leaves the Castle beneath the Eastern Apse."

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statements were true we should have a startling proof of the Roman Origin of the Castle Apse. But though the mouth of the "Cloaca" under the Apse is actually inserted by Mr. Jenkins in his plan,[1] *the "Cloaca" has never been traced beyond a point in the Holly Trees Grounds at a considerable distance from the Castle!*[2] The fact is that Mr. Jenkins' zeal led him into reckless conjecture, which he looked upon as established fact. No wonder that he had to complain that what he "had written and considered to be the true history of the Castle the Reviewer would fain have turned into a Romance."[3]

Mr. Jenkins rendered most valuable service to the Archæology of Colchester and its neighbourhood, but on this one subject his vision was hopelessly distorted by his enthusiastic devotion to the Temple theory. That Colchester Castle is a Roman building (as suggested by Stukely and Fosbrooke) was, if an improbable,[4] at least not a ludicrous theory, but the luckless resolve to stand or fall by its identity with the Temple of Claudius was in truth a *reductio ad absurdum.*

As Mr. Cutts well expressed it,—after describing an ideal temple,—

"Will we after such a vision believe that the grand Temple of Claudius

[1] This plan professes to be copied from Grose, but Grose does not mention any mouth of the *Cloaca.*

[2] See an excellent account of it by Dr. Duncan in Vol. i. Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.

Mr. Parker, speaking on the *Cloaca* in 1876, is represented to have pronounced it "a Roman *Cloaca* or *Drain*, in excellent preservation no doubt third century work, and evidently intended to drain the City, the Romans having an excellent idea of drainage." (*Essex Standard.*) This hasty *dictum* strangely ignored the careful researches of Dr. Duncan, who tells us that the *Cloaca* when first uncovered, was supposed to have been intended for drainage, but was proved to have merely carried off "the pure overflowings of a bath" (i. 224.) This bath, with its spring, was found at the same time (see Ordnance Map). The abnormal magnificence of the Roman baths is well illustrated by the size of this conduit, as also by the excavations now being made at Bath, and those at Rome, behind the Pantheon. A true Roman drain ran to the west of the *Cloaca*, and was traced up towards the High Street (i. 226). This seems to have been unnoticed in 1876. The thickness of the bricks (1¼-inch), proves by Mr. Parker's own test, that the *Cloaca* must be earlier than the third century, and the coins found in it form a continuous series back to the first century. They were presented to the Essex Arch. Soc. by the Rev. J. Round, by whose permission the excavations had been made.

[3] Temple of Claudius, p. 7.

[4] The Roman *Castellum*, like the Norman *Castellum*, was a fortified open space. The Norman *turris* or keep had no equivalent in Roman fortification. "It is quite unlike the Roman Castles which preceded it, and to which, as at Portchester and Lincoln, it was sometimes superadded." *Old London*, p. 14.

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was a little apartment 40ft. by 14ft., huddled away in an obscure corner of a great square mass of building; and accessible only by a winding stair in the opposite corner of the building?"

My readers will be doubtless of opinion that the Roman theory has now been criticised at sufficient length, but it is one thing to *dis*prove that the Castle was the Temple of Claudius, and quite another to prove that it was built by the Normans. It is on the objections to the latter thesis, rather than on the proofs of the former, that Mr. Buckler mainly relies. His criticisms, if occasionally captious, are still soberly put forth, and consequently deserve a sober, and not a flippant, reply.[1]

Colchester Castle in its general character is as clearly like a Norman fortress as it is *un*like a Roman temple. This I propose to shew in the "Description of the Castle," where it will be seen how many points it had in common with other such fortresses. This will be the best answer to Mr. Buckler's criticisms. The peculiarities, such as they are, which distinguish the Architecture of this Keep, are capable of a very interesting explanation. It must be remembered that all Mediæval Architecture was originally derived from the Roman, or more accurately the debased Roman, style. But in the slow process of development its differentiation became more marked as it passed through the successive stages which were distinguished by M. de Caumont as the Primary, the Secondary, and the Tertiary "Roman." Now the Anglo-Saxons or Old English are distinctly recorded by Bede to have built *more Romano* (in the Roman style). This style, which developed into a kind of National Romanesque, has been distinguished by Mr. Parker as "the so-called Saxon style." But there had meanwhile arisen in Normandy a Romanesque of a more advanced character, involving a greater use of masonry in stone. This style, which the Confessor had been the first to introduce from Normandy into England, began from the time of the Conquest, to supplant the National Architecture. But the latter and more primitive style was still occasionally adhered to, and continued to exist by its side till the close of the Conqueror's reign. In this sense the pile of St. Alban's, begun by Abbot Paul in 1077, has been described as

"The least thoroughly Norman Church erected after the Conquest. The ground plan and the general outline of the Church are

[1] "On the grotesque delusion which mistook a Norman Castle for a Roman Temple I might not have thought it needful to waste a word. . . . Perhaps there was also somebody who believed that the earth was flat and that the sun was only a few miles from it" (Mr. Freeman).

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Norman. The details and method of building are Romanesque of the Old English type.[1] So with the Castle of Colchester, which is in the military architecture of the early Norman period much what the Church of St. Alban's is in the ecclesiastical the general form is indeed Norman, but, as at St. Alban's, the management of the materials and many of the details indicate that older buildings were influencing the workmen. It is probable that the Castle itself occupied the site of some Roman building of considerable importance, and that not only the materials of this building were used by the Normans, but that certain of its forms were reproduced in their work."[2]

But it is unnecessary to assume, as here suggested, that there remained a Roman edifice which served as an actual model, for the Roman details traceable in the Architecture are accounted for, as we have seen, by the retention of "the so-called Saxon style."[3] But why was this style selected by the builders of a Norman fortress? Here we have the key to the problem. Its selection was no more a matter of preference with the Norman than with the Saxon. In both cases the style was the natural outcome of the employment of Roman materials.[4] The forms which had been found by the Romans best adapted to those materials were obviously the best to be reproduced when the Saxon, and the Norman after him, employed those materials anew. On the other hand there seems a general *consensus*[5]

[1] So Rickman—"St. Alban's Abbey has in parts a considerable mixture of the style in use before the Conquest and a good deal of rubble walling is used, with many Roman tiles."

[2] *Standard*, 31st July, 1876.

[3] *i.e.*, in its Roman features. The archways of tile and stone greatly resemble the "Saxon" one in Britford Church, which Mr. Rickman says "forms an important link with Brixworth Church by the mixture of brick and stone." Brixworth, according to Mr. Parker (*Glossary* p. 246), is a very remarkable example, *the arches being all built of Roman bricks*, as at St. Michael's, (?) Colchester." See also, for Brixworth, &c., Mr. G. G. Scott's *English Church Architecture* (1881), and for Roman materials in Saxon Churches, the instances given in chap. iv.

[4] And of the co-incident Roman traditions practically preserved in the locality. This was admitted by Mr. Freeman in his admirable Historical Address (see chap. iv.)

[5] "That it stands on the site of a Roman building or buildings of considerable extent and importance is very probable." *Roman Remains at Colchester*.—Brit. Arch. Journal. No. 5. (1846).

"That the Castle of Eudo is raised upon the site of some Roman building of importance, whether a tower or a temple,—that in this very central position may have stood, for instance the Curia of the Roman Colony, answering to the Prætorium of a military encampment seems far from improbable."—*Quart. Rev.*

"It cannot easily be conceived from whence such a very large quantity of Roman bricks were taken, unless some massy building of Roman workmanship was demolished which could furnish from its ruins such an enormous mass as is swallowed up," &c. Strutt's *Colchester* (1808) p. 158.

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that the site itself was that of some Roman building of importance,—possibly that of the Temple itself. The latter conclusion is supported by its position relatively to the walls[1] and by the remarkable remains discovered beneath its northern rampart. Whether the Temple of the earlier, or the *Prætorium* of the later Colony, stood within this enclosure, there was doubtless a mass of *débris* available as a quarry for the Normans. It will be observed that this admission lends no countenance to the theory that the building itself is in any degree Roman, and that, on the contrary it serves to explain some of the facts which the supporters of that theory would fain press into their service.

It has now been shewn that Colchester Castle is (1) not Saxon, (2) not Roman (though erected on a Roman site). Consequently, it can only be Norman, and this conclusion, as we shall see below, is amply confirmed by its Architecture. But though the issue be thus narrowed down, the question must still be asked,—"When was Colchester Castle built, and who built it?" It was built, we shall at once be told, about the close of the 11th or commencement of the 12th century, and its builder was Eudo "Dapifer."[2] Is this so? The evidence, I must again repeat, is partly external and historical, partly internal and architectural. The opinion of Mr. Freeman, the supreme authority on the period, appears, in this matter, to have undergone a distinct development. In the first Edition (1871) of his "Norman Conquest,"—a work for which historical students can never be sufficiently grateful—he states (after narrating the reception of the fugitive Duke by the faithful Hubert of Rye)—

"We find that Eudo the Son of Hubert, the King's *Dapifer* and Sheriff of Essex, was not only the founder of the great house of Saint John at Colchester, but won a purer fame as one of the very few Normans in high authority who knew how to win the love and confidence of the conquered English."[3]

But in the later edition of the same work (1877) we find that,

[1] "The Templum or Augurale would be here according to Authorities." Beale Poste p. 236 (Excursus on the Temple of Claudius).

[2] Mr. Parker fixes the date as William Rufus or Henry I., *i.e.*, 1087—1135. (Letter to *Essex Standard*, 18th Aug., 1876). Mr. Hartshorne as "between 1087 and 1120." (Meeting of Arch. Assoc., 1864).

[3] How can we reconcile this good character of Eudo, (derived from his doings at Colchester) *if he was the builder of the Castle*, with Mr. Parker's statement that it was "intended to assist a small garrison, keeping a large and discontented town in subjection" (*Essex Standard*, 11th Aug. 1876).

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by the side of Eudo's authentic foundation, the tradition of his building the Castle has been allowed to creep in.

"The House of Rye rose high in William's favour. One son, Robert, became Bishop of Leez, and, another, Eudo, the King's *Dapifer* and Sheriff of Essex, founder of the house of St. John at Colchester, *and, in all likelihood, builder of the neighbouring Castle, vastest of Norman donjons.*" (ii. 250).

May we not venture to think that the addition was due to Mr. Freeman having meanwhile been brought within the influence of the Eudo legend? The occasion was the visit of the Institute to Colchester in August 1876.[1] Mr. Freeman then spoke with no uncertain sound.

"The Castle was not one of the Castles of the Conqueror. *It was clearly a work of Eudo*, a work dating from the reign of the second William, and not the first."[2]

Now it cannot be too often insisted upon that we must shake ourselves free from the influence, perhaps unconscious, of the spurious local "Chronicle" before we can fairly examine the question. The Colchester traditions of the early Norman period would seem to have "crystallised" round Eudo as did those of the Romans round Helena.[3] The assent which the credulous Morant gave to the statement in the Chronicle, guarded as that assent was[4] (more guarded than his acceptance of the Coel and Helena story), led many a careless enquirer to repeat the legend, till in time it almost assumed the garb of historic truth.[5] Let us bear in mind that this worthless statement (see Marsh's Note *supra*) is the *sole historic evidence*[6] for Eudo

[1] And Mr. Freeman's preliminary visit in 1875.

[2] Historical address at Colchester, printed in Vol. xxxiv. Arch. Jour.

[3] See p. 7.

[4] "Possibly too it was founded by Eudo according to our *Colchester Chronicle*, 1076."

[5] Mr. Jenkins has an amusing, but forcible, *exposé* of this "farrago of lying legends" (p. 31-33), and his criticisms may be supplemented by a glance at the other entries. The arrival of the head of St. Helena in 945 is followed by the destruction of "Colchester Castle" in 975 in this precious production, and the famous 1076 entry should be compared with the "gift" of Colchester to Eudo in that of 1071. Mr. Markham (Life of Fairfax) assigns 1076 as the date of the Castle, which betrays the source of his information, but then, as we have seen above (p. 6), he even believed the Roman wall to be Norman.

[6] I except the well-known passage in Dugdale's Monasticon as (1) unauthenticated (2) proved to be inaccurate. Yet Mr. Hartshorne actually stated at the Colchester (1864) meeting, "In a document printed by Dugdale in his Monasticon there occurs the following important passage, which must for ever set all doubt upon this controverted question at rest (!)" It is probable, as Mr. Jenkins suggested, that Dugdale derived his information from the local legend.

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having built the Castle! Against it, as was shown by Mr. Jenkins and others, is the explicit statement contained in the actual charter, by which the second William "committed" (*not* confirmed) his city of Colchester with its keep and its "Castle" to Eudo his "Dapifer."[1] Against it also is the striking fact that the Chronicle of St. John's, though it makes the most of his doings real and fictitious, contains not the slightest hint that he was the founder of the Castle. In the face of such evidence as this we are surely entitled to ask for something more than the mere *ex cathedrâ* statement,—"It is clearly a work of Eudo."

Nor is this all. It is essential to remember that this was the *King's* Castle, erected in the *King's* Town.[2] Colchester Castle was from the first a Royal, and not a Baronial, fortress. How then can it have been founded by Eudo, a private Baron? Again, the extraordinary dimensions of this "vast pile" (as Mr. Freeman well terms it) would at once forbid the supposition that any but the King could have raised it.[3] These objections appear to me almost insurmountable. The architectural evidence I reserve for the "description of the Castle," but I may here state that the fortresses to which Colchester Castle, in its arrangements, presents the closest analogies are those which were indisputably erected in the days of the first William. And I hasten to add that the mystery of its origin will only be solved when we compare its features with those which we see

[1] This charter occurs in a Register of St. John's (Eudo's foundation). It is addressed to Maurice, Bishop of London, and to all the Barons of Essex. "Sciatis me dedisse benigne et ad amorem concesisse Eudoni Dapifero meo civitatem de Colecestria *et turrim* et castellum et omnes ejus civitatis firmitates cum omnibus quæ ad illam pertinent sicut Pater meus, et Frater, et Ego, in ea quocunque habuimus. Hæc commissio facta fuit apud Westmonaster in primo Natali post concordiam Roberti comitis, Fratris mei, de me et de illo." It was thus granted after the triumphant return of Rufus in Aug. 1091. It has escaped the notice of Mr. Freeman in his *Norman Conquest* and *William Rufus*. If challenged as a forgery it shows that even the forger dared not credit Eudo with founding the Castle.

[2] The expression in the St. John's Chronicle is explicit on Eudo's position. "Rex Willielmus junior civitatem Colecestriæ *tradidit servandam* Eudoni," *i.e.*, he was custos.

[3] In the *Carta Eudonis de fundatione* he does not speak of the Castle as his,—"omnes proventus capellæ in castello de Colecestria et omnes proventus capellarum in maneriis *meis*, &c."

[4] First in wealth . . . came the princes of the blood Next in importance are the great prelates It is a great descent to the mere nobles, men like William de Braiose, Eudo Dapifer," &c., Pearson i. 384. Colchester Castle is just *four times* the size of the largest Baronial keep in existence, and yet Eudo was not one of the great Barons!

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in its sister Tower, for such I do not hesitate to term the mighty "Tower of London."[1] Rightly did Stukely[2] pronounce them to be of the same time and manner, and probably by the same hand." The supporters, indeed, of the Roman theory were quick to perceive the resemblance, for they plainly saw how impossible it would be to apply their theory to Colchester Castle without applying it also to the Tower of London.[3] The fact that it was with them a sheer necessity to include the "Tower" in the Roman theory should prove how inseparable are the two buildings. But to realise their former resemblance we must discard accepted notions, and must think of Colchester Castle not as it is, but as it was. Thus only does its meaning become clear; thus only can we effectually reply to the questions Mr. Buckler raises.

In claiming the Conqueror as the true founder of the Castle,[4] I would employ, *mutatis mutandis*, the words in which a learned Archæologist[5] has claimed for Corfe the same honour.

"It is no doubt hazardous to advance such a theory at the present day when a disposition prevails to assign to ancient buildings more recent dates than those which formerly have been attributed to them. It has been suggested that even if the Conqueror built a castle at Corfe,

[1] See chap. IV.

[2] See above.

[3] "There is no building, with the exception of the White Tower of London, similar, or nearly approaching in resemblance, to Colchester Castle." Jenkins. See also Mr. Buckler's Excursus. It is a sad instance of the shifts to which the former was driven that while rightly insisting that the word *Turris*, in the grant to Eudo, means "a high building such as the White Tower" (p. 40), yet on p. 47 he has to maintain that "magna turris" (in the textus Roffensis) *could not mean* the White Tower! Mr. Buckler has to repeat the argument (p. 70.) If it did not mean the White Tower, will he tell us what it can have meant, as he assures us (p. 74) that even at the end of Stephen's reign, "the Tower of London as a fortress probably consisted of little more than the White Tower!"

[4] I have the less hesitation in questioning the verdict of Archæologists, as they are not even themselves agreed on these questions of Military Architecture. Thus Mr. Clark, Mr. Cutts, and others who have written on Colchester Castle, speak of it invariably as *a keep*. But Mr. Parker, speaking in 1876, informed us that "the Castle was *not*, as was supposed a keep." So too even Mr. Clark and Mr. Freeman are not agreed on some important points (See *Norman Conquest* Vol. ii. Note S.). Nor can their views on the Norwich Castle of the Conqueror be reconciled (N.C. iv. 582. *Arch. Jour.* xxiv. 103). Again Mr. Hartshorne's views (1864) on the altitude of Colchestor Castle are irreconcilable with the recognised theory on Norman keeps, and finally Mr. Bloxam has classed the Castle as "a *late* Norman structure"! (*Arch. Journ.* .I 316).

[5] See Mr. Bond's Essay (*Arch. Journal* xxii). According to Mr. Clark, Mr. Bond had made a special study of the subject.

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it was of timber and not of stone, but there is no evidence in support of such a theory. William may have built wooden castles, but it is admitted that he also built some of stone, the Tower of London being one. If, therefore, he did build some fortresses of the more durable material, on what grounds can it be contended that Corfe Castle was not one of them?"[1]

But the positive evidence in our case is far stronger than at Corfe. Not only does the architecture, when rightly understood, itself bear witness in our favour; not only have we definite proof that in 1091, at any rate, the Castle was already standing, but we should also infer the fact from the very history of William's reign.

"Most of the castles whose foundation is distinctly recorded naturally belong to places which came into William's hands in the course of later warfare. But there were castles in Southern and Eastern England also, and it is most likely that their foundation at least, if not their completion, was among the very first works of William's reign. In one case indeed we have distinct evidence of the fact. The borough of Norwich stood at no great distance from the sea which separated, or rather united, England and Denmark Norwich was therefore a point which called for special attention A fortress was therefore built within the walls of the city."[2]

Now it is obvious that this argument would apply with even greater force to Colchester. A town of importance, both from its size and its fortified position, it stood at the head of a great estuary, and was thus peculiarly exposed to the danger of Scandinavian invasion. Its capture by the Danes would have been a serious blow to William, and it is absolutely certain that he must have hastened to strengthen it with a fortress. If a warning was needed to convince him of the danger, it was afforded in 1069 by the Danish raid up the valley of the Stour. But though a temporary building must have been thus early erected, the existing fortress was a work of his later years. I venture to think that we may safely assign its erection to the period between the accession and the

[1] "The keep of Corfe Castle," adds Mr. Bond, "has many features in common with the White Tower of London and though the masonry of the latter is mostly of rubble stone, yet, when ashlar occurs, as it does to a limited extent in some parts of the building besides the quoins, it is very similar to that at Corfe." In so far as Colchester Castle presents an even greater resemblance in features and material, so is the evidence in its case stronger.

[2] *Norm. Conq.* Notice that, as Mr. Freeman points out, Norwich was already walled, but the Castle was erected in addition. Thus the Conqueror would not have considered the mere walls of Colchester sufficient without a Castle. Probably, in each case, it was a necessary curb upon the town itself.

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invasion of Saint Cnut, that is between the years 1080 and 1085. At no time during the reigns of the Conqueror and his sons was the danger so great to the East Coast, and the need of its defence so urgent. "England," says Mr. Freeman,[1] or at least her king, was threatened by a force such as had not set forth from a Northern haven since the great voyage of Harold Hardrada. All the great maritime powers of the North, Denmark, Norway, Flanders, were leagued together to take away the crown from the head of William." We have distinct historical evidence[2] that the Conqueror met the danger by erecting fortresses at the exposed points, and that he was driven, in the year 1085, to the extreme measure of laying waste the coast. Surely there was never a crisis to which we might more fitly attribute the substitution of the existing keep for the temporary fort which had preceded it. I repeat therefore that Colchester Castle must have been built or at least mainly completed between 1080 and 1085.[3]

It can hardly be hoped that a chapter so purely Archæological will be of interest to the general reader. Yet the origin of Colchester Castle must be discussed fully if at all. Nor is the question devoid of true significance. The Norman keep was essentially a symbol of a change in the national life. As Mr. Clark[4] well expresses it,[5]—

"With the Northmen came in a greater prominence of the right of private property, and their strong places, as they became settled in the country, were constructed less for its general security than for the protection of particular estates and families."

Such are the "sermons in stones" which the Norman castles preach. The change is so admirably illustrated by the Author of "The Norman Conquest" that this chapter cannot

[1] *Norman Conquest* iv. 688.

[2] Æthelnoth (quoted by Mr. Freeman iv. 688). "Willelmus arte tuitionis non imperitus, castra et oppida munire, muris et fossâ cum propugnaculis castella circumcingere, urbium muros renovare et eis vigilantiam adhibere, diversosque ad portus nauticas custodias deputare," &c.

[3] The objection that it is unmentioned in the Domesday Survey is well replied to by Mr. Freeman (v. 806). "Sometimes a Castle is not mentioned in Domesday in the account of the place where it stood, but comes in casually somewhere else. Sometimes a Castle which we know to have been built by William, or to have existed in his time, is not mentioned at all." Dover, Nottingham, Canterbury, and the Tower of London are given as instances.

[4] "The great master of Military Architecture." Freeman.

[5] *Arch. Journ.* xxiv. 105.

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be closed more fitly than with his own words.

"The building of Castles is something of which the English writers of this age frequently speak, and speak always with a special kind of horror. To fortify a town, to build a citadel to protect a town, were processes with which England had long been familiar.[1] The hateful castle was wholly new. The stern square tower, perched on its height, frowning over the city or guarding the entrance of the valley, was, before all other things, the badge of the Conquest, the sign of the dominion of the stranger The Castle was the badge of the great change, social and political, to which the Norman Conquest had put the finishing stroke. . . . But even in this matter of Castle-building, as in everything else, the Norman did but build on an English foundation, and the works of the Englishman have commonly outlived the works of the Norman. In a crowd of cases the Norman Castle rose on a spot which had, in earlier times, been made into a place of defence by English, sometimes by British, hands. And in many places the works of the Briton and Englishman are still there, while the works of the Norman have perished."[2]

[1] Vol. ii. (1st Ed.) p. 137.
[2] Vol. v. p. 646.

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III.

HISTORY OF THE CASTLE.

THE documentary history of Colchester Castle begins, as was shewn in the last chapter, with the grant of it to Eudo by William Rufus in 1091. But it was there pointed out that this noble fortress had probably been erected some seven or eight years before the above date. If so, it must have had a previous governor, appointed by the Conqueror himself. The story of Eudo, as told in the Monasticon,[1] gives us a hint that such was the case. We learn from it that the men of Colchester, smarting beneath the excessive oppression which they had suffered in the days of the first William, sought on the accession of his son to obtain Eudo for their governor. We may well believe that the Conqueror's Castle had sheltered the oppressor they complained of. A brief entry in the Domesday record would seem to point to two *custodes* as predecessors of Eudo in his post. Of these the first was Waleran, an aggressive and unscrupulous Norman, who had been granted lands in the Eastern Counties, but had died before the Survey was taken. The second was Walchelin, an extortionate underling,[2] who acted as deputy for the Bishop of London, to whom as to his successor, 130 years later, the charge of Colchester was for the time entrusted. It should be noticed that not only the Castle, but the whole town as well was committed to Eudo's keeping.[3] His tenure of the fortress appears to have been uneventful, its only feature being his grant of the revenues of its chapel towards the endowment of his House of St. John. The royal favour which he enjoyed under Rufus, he is said, by his adherence to the losing cause,

[1] We have Mr. Freeman's authority for accepting "the purely local parts of the tale" (Colchester Address, 1876), though, from his imperfect acquaintance with the Domesday entries he has discredited them in his *William Rufus* (1882) II. 404-5.

[2] The burgesses protested to the Commissioners of the Survey against his excessive demands.

[3] "Eudo's special position at Colchester, by whatever name we are to call it" (Mr. Freeman) was simply that of *custos*, a recognised post, at that period in fortified towns of importance.

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to have forfeited on the accession of Henry. If so, he promptly regained it, and when in the beginning of 1120,[1] full of years and honours, he ended his prosperous life, this younger son of a Norman gentleman was a Baron of wealth and power.

Margaret, his only child, was the wife of William de Magnavil, Baron of Walden and Hereditary Constable of the Tower of London. The Magnavils hoped, by this brilliant alliance, to add the possessions of the *Dapifer*[2] to their already vast estates. But they had reckoned without their host. To break up the estates of the larger feudatories was the stedfast aim of the Norman kings, and it was not likely that Henry Beauclerc would permit this policy to be deliberately reversed. Two fortresses, the largest in his realm, would be placed in the power of a single Vassal, if he allowed the keepership of Colchester Castle to pass into the hands of the Constable of the Tower. So the precedent of William Fitz-Osbern was followed,[3] and the strong arm of "the Lion of Justice," baulked the Magnavils of their prey. They obtained the Norman estates and the hereditary stewardship of the Duchy, but the town of Colchester and its Royal Castle reverted, with the English Barony, to the Crown.[4]

They were soon granted to a fresh Constable, a certain Hamo de St. Clare, who is found in 1130 accounting to the Exchequer for the proceeds.[5] It is probable that he was selected by the cautious king from the trustworthy class of the smaller

[1] For Eudo's life, see Miss Fry's careful paper (*Essex Arch. Coll.* N.S., I. 33). It might possibly be inferred from Mr. Freeman's account (*Norm. Conq.*) that he was one of the three sons to whom Hubert entrusted the fugitive Duke. But if he was still able, in 1120, to undertake the journey to Normandy, and to leave a widow who was capable of marrying again, he can hardly have galloped by the side of Duke William, when he rode for his life on that eventful morning three-quarters of a century before. He is believed to have been Hubert's fourth son (Ellis *Introd.* &c.) and was probably much junior to his three elder brothers.

[2] He had 20 Manors in Essex, and 52 in other counties.

[3] "The policy of William divided his inheritance. In rewarding his own comrades, he had been obliged to make the same men great on both sides of the sea, but he did not wish that state of things to continue beyond the first generation." (*Norm. Conq.* IV. 537.)

[4] The Monks, disappointed of their anticipated bequests, declared that Eudo's Will was made at the King's dictation. The claim of the Magnavilles will recur below.

[5] £40 for the ferm of Colchester, and £190..3..0 for the ferm of Eudo's Barony (*Rot Pip.* 31 H. I.) Hamo seems, by the entries of arrears, to have held this post for some years previously. He had apparently, in 1130, married a wealthy widow, and owed the Crown £90 on the transaction.

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landowners.[1] He occurs as witness to a Charter of Stephen in 1136, and must have been then in attendance on the King. We may thus trace the fate of the Castle in the dark days of Stephen the weak. Hamo, by these entries, must have held it for the King, which would account for the Empress Maud bestowing it—if he could get it—on her favourite, Aubrey de Vere, the Lord of Hedingham. But a third claimant perceived his opportunity. Aubrey's brother-in-law, Geoffrey de Magnavil, now came forward as the grandson of the *Dapifer* and made the Castle the price of his allegiance. In vain the Empress granted his wildest claims. In vain the King strove to retain him on his side. He "accepted the title of Earl of Essex from both parties, and pillaged both sides."[2] We know not whether either of these turbulent Barons succeeded for a time in ousting Hamo, but if so, it must have fared badly with Colchester. "They cruelly oppressed," says the Chronicler, "the men of the land with castle-works. When the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those men that they imagined had any property, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with unutterable torture: for never were martyrs so tortured as they were."

Hamo appears to have been succeeded by another of his family, Hubert de St. Clare, (presumably his son,) on whom Henry the Second bestowed the Manor of Lexden, which had remained in the hands of the Crown since the death of Harold "the ill-fated." But the English portion of the *Dapifer's* possessions, which had been administered as a whole by Hamo, was now divided into three. The territorial Barony[3] was granted to Guarin, son of Gerold the Chamberlain, and had passed, in 1168, to his brother Henry.[4] The town of Colchester, which had hitherto paid its tribute through the Constable of the Castle, was henceforth, in accordance with official routine,

[1] It was from this class that Henry I. took his officers, that they might be dependent on him for their advancement. We find several St. Clares occurring in Essex and Herts, and three of the name were benefactors to St. John's. Morant does not know whether to term the Constable Hamo or Hubert (Mr. Watson increases the confusion by making it "Herbert") and inserts him as H . . . de St. Clare. But Hamo and Hubert were distinct individuals, not, as Morant supposed, the same (*St John's Chartulary*).

[2] Stubbs' *Const. Hist.* i. 329.

[3] Such Baronies were preserved intact by the Crown (*Ib.* i. 401).

[4] *Liber Niger.* Carta Eudonis Dapiferi. "Isti sunt milites Eudonis Dapiferi quos ego Henricus filius Geroldi teneo de Rege," &c. Then follow 51 Knights' Fees.

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to pay it normally through the Sheriff of the Shire. In the first Sheriff who received this tribute it is interesting to recognize the great Justiciar, "Richard de Lucy the Loyal."[1] Thus the keepership of the Castle alone remained, and this, at Hubert's death, passed to his heirs. According to Stow's Chronicle the manner of his death was as follows—"In a certain assiege at Bridgnorth (1165) where the King (Henry II), was shot at by one of the enemies, a valiant man, Hubert de St. Clare, Constable of Colchester, did thrust himself betwixt the King and the danger of the stroke, and so received death for him."

His daughter and heiress[2] had married William de Lanvalei,[3] and to him now passed the estate and office of her father. A son and grandson of the same name[4] succeeded, in peace to "the Honour of Lanvalei." Besides the keepership of the Castle of Colchester they obtained that of "the Forest of Essex[5]" and as Lords of the Manors of Stanway and Lexden vied with one another in the endowments they showered on the Houses of

[1] "Ricardus de Luci reddit compotum de veteri firmâ Colecestriæ." (*Rot. Pip.* 2 H. II., Madox *Hist. Exchеq.* p. 705). The strong Castle of Ongar was his seat. He was Sheriff in 2nd H. II., and Justiciar of England for a quarter of a century. Colchester being on the Royal Demesne, had hitherto been excepted from the financial authority of the Sheriff (cf. *Const. Hist.* i. 402). Even now it continued directly subject to the Crown, and was handed over by John as "our town (nostram villam) of Colchester" to Stephen Harengood, with the Castle, in 1214.

[2] Her name is not mentioned, but she was probably the "Maud de Lanvalei," of the St. John's Chartulary.

[3] He was one of the witnesses to the Constitutions of Clarendon. 1164.

[4] Morant only gives *two* of the name, but it is clear from the Chartulary that there were *three* (as indeed he admits under Lexden). His list of the Governors of the Castle is so imperfect as to be worthless. But instead of carping at his inaccuracy, we should marvel at the extent of his information, especially when we remember that in those days it was infinitely more difficult to procure. Nor is it always wise to attempt to correct him. There is an amusing instance of this in Mr. Watson's *Ancient Colchester* (p. 78), where he points out that Leicester's letter cannot have been dated "24 March 1570" (as in Morant) being written in 1571. Of course, as is well known, the legal year (down to 1752) did not commence till the 25 March. Thus the 24 March would be officially dated as belonging to the previous year, and Morant was perfectly correct.

[5] In 1200 W. de Lanvalei "dat c.c. marcas pro habenda custodia castelli de C. et custodia forestæ usque ad pont. Chelms. sic. eam habuit T. R. Ric.," at Easter, and 200 more at Michaelmas. *Rot. de ob. et Fin.* But though historians term this the forest of Essex, it only extended to the Chelmer, and comprised 7½ hundreds. The rest was then annexed to Hertford Castle, whose constable was its forester.

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St. John and of the Holy Cross.[1] But the lot of the last of the Lanvaleis was cast in evil days. King John, in the course of his troubled reign, had on four occasions visited Colchester and slept within the Castle walls.[2] But now the year 1214 was drawing gloomily to its close, and the gathering clouds of civil war were already hovering over the land. Surrounded by his foreign satellites the King was hastening from France eager to wreak a cruel vengeance on the Barons who had opposed his will. Within a fortnight of his landing[3] he appeared in Essex, and renewed his restless wanderings. On the 3rd of November he was at his Palace of Writtle, and gave orders that provisions should be in readiness for him at Colchester on the

[1] Morant believed the "Hospital of the Crouched (crossed) Friars" (at the junction of the London and Maldon Roads) to have been founded by one of the Lanvaleis, who granted it "pannage for twelve hogs in his woods of Shrub and Wyldenhay.

[2] 19 Dec. 1203, 15 Oct. 1205, 12 June 1209, 28-30 Sept. 1212 (on this occasion a tun of "musk-wine" was sent to the Castle for his use).

[3] Historians differ strangely in their accounts of these two eventful months, in which the foundations were laid of the great Charter. M. Paris (p. 252) makes John return on the 19th Oct., but documents prove (Hardy's *Itin.*) that he had reached Dartmouth by the 15th. Of modern authorities on this reign Professor Stubbs makes him land on the 19th Oct. in his *Const. Hist.* (i. 528), but on the 15th Oct. in his *Sel. Charters* (279). He places the great meeting at Bury *before* the 15th Oct. in his *Sel. Charters* (279) but "in November" in his *Early Plants.* (148). Mr. Pearson makes John land on the 4th of November, and the Barons meet on the 20th Nov. Dr. Lingard agrees with the latter date, but makes the King land on the 19th Oct. Mr. Green places the Bury meeting "within a few days" of John's landing, and so on. This meeting was the turning-point. I cannot believe that it took place in October, and that John, after it, visited the spot where the Barons had committed themselves to rebellion. But if we place it in November, it must have been after John had left the neighbourhood, and this was not till the 7th Nov. I would venture to offer as a solution the following hypothetical sketch. John, on landing about the middle of October, demanded a scutage from the Barons who had refused their help for the war. Most of them gave way, but the Northern (the extreme) section took their stand on "Henry's Charter" and refused. (R. Cogg. p. 246 W. Cov. ii. 217, 218). The Legate patched up the quarrel for the time, and both sides endeavoured to win over the moderate party. John strove, as ever (like his descendant, Charles I) to break up the opposition, and visited the Essex Barons who were the most wavering in their allegiance. Finding his efforts vain he fell back towards London, leaving the ground clear for the Barons to assemble. Thereupon (in Professor Stubbs' words) "the constitutional party joined the others in a great meeting at St. Edmund's," and John shut himself up in London (16th Nov.) Having found he could not divide the Baronage, he resolved on a *coup d état*, seized Colchester Castle (20th Nov.), and threw himself on the clergy (21st Nov.) for their support against the Barons. On this hypothesis my text is based.

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7th.[1] Starting the next morning, he pushed through Sudbury into Suffolk as far as Bury St. Edmund's, but returned as hurriedly the following day, crossing the Stour at Nayland and entering Colchester by the North Gate on that dark winter's evening, surrounded by the flare of torches and followed by a weary cavalcade. After spending two nights at Colchester Castle, and urging its Constable to remain true to him, he resumed his southward course, anxious to be within reach of the Tower when the storm broke. Early on the morning of the 7th his retinue was clattering down the High Street, as the King started to ride across Essex to his strong Castle of Raylcigh.[2]

Within a few days of John's departure the Lord of Lexden set forth also, but his horse's head was turned northward as he rode to join the Barons assembled at St. Edmund's shrine.[3] To his trusty Lieutenant, Mathew Mantel, he had committed, in his absence, the charge of Colchester Castle.

He found the Barons resolved to take the initiative, and so extort from the King a confirmation of their liberties, in default of which "they would bring him to reason by seizing his Castles."[4] John was quick to take the hint. Colchester lay dangerously near to Bury St. Edmund's, and to Colchester therefore he straightway despatched a certain Stephen Harengoot with a writ commanding Mathew Mantel to surrender to him the Royal Castle. This was on the 20th of November.[5] The new Governor lost no time in preparing the Castle for the anticipated attack. Within a week of his despatch we find 22 marks paid to Hugh de Albemunt "the Carpenter,"[6] and the operations appear to have been vigorously renewed after the Barons' ultimatum at the Epiphany.[7] Engines of war were not wanting. The chancellor was directed to see that eight balistas[8]—two 24 inch, and six 12 inch—were purchased, and delivered to Stephen "to be placed in the Castle,"[9] and engineers trained to their use were despatched from

[1] Writ to Sheriff.

[2] Hardy's *Itinerary of John.*

[3] Convenerunt universi ad ecclesiam Sancti Eadmundi (M. Paris).

[4] "Per captionem castrorum suorum eum ad satisfactionem compellarent."

[5] *Rot. Litt. Claus.*

[6] 28th November, 1214, R.L.C.

[7] 21st January, 1215 (20 marks), 31st March (20 marks), 9th April (9 marks).

[8] The *balista* was the Roman engine of that name (described by Ammianus Marcellinus) and was in full employ as late as 1360, when cannon were coming unto use. It was a large mechanical cross-bow, worked by winches (*hancipes*) and discharging heavy darts ("quarrels.")

[9] 22nd January, 1215, R.L.C.

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London 13th Feb. During the month of April the men of Colchester were busy in the King's Wood, felling timber, under the eyes of the Constable, for strengthening the defences of their ancient town.[1] This Harengoot, to whom the town of Colchester, and the Hundred of Tendring had meanwhile[2] also been committed must have been one of the German or Flemish freeboters whom John had attracted to his standard.[3] Scarcely were his preparations complete when Robert Fitz-Walter set out for London at the head of the "Army of God." Among the Barons who rode in its ranks was William de Lanvalei.[4] The first intimation of the coming surrender which Stephen Harengood received was an intimation on the 10th of June that a truce had been effected.[5] Five days later the Great Charter was granted, and a writ, dated from Runnymede within three days of the event, apprised the Governor of Colchester Castle that the struggle was at an end.[6]

And then came the hour of reckoning, The forest of Essex was held for the King by a faithful adherent, Hugh de Nevill, but a royal writ now commanded him to give up possession to its lawful Forester.[7] A few weeks more, and the alien Harengood underwent the signal mortification of surrendering the Castle he had so carefully fortified into the hands of its hereditary keeper.[8] Retiring to the Court of his Royal Master

[1] King's writ to his men of Colchester, 1st April, 1215, R.L.C.

[2] 21st January, 1215.

[3] "Applicuerunt in Angliâ alienigenæ barbari et magna multitudo diversarum linguarum." *Ann. Waverl.*

[4] Four other Essex Barons are mentioned in the host,—Richard de Monfichet, Robert de Vere and the two Magnavils. William de Lanvalei was one of the 25 "Barons of the Charter."

[5] *Rot. Litt. Claus.*

[6] *Ib.* 18th June.

[7] *Ib.* 21st June.

[8] Mandatum est S. Harengood quod liberet W. de Lanvaley castrum de C." *Rot. Lit. Pat.* 27th July.

Such invaluable assistance is afforded to the historian by the researches of Professor Stubbs, that it may seem ungracious to criticise his statements. Yet I would venture to correct the passage (II. 6).—"The Earl of Winchester recovered Mountsorrel, *the Earl of Essex, Colchester*, and William of Aumâle Rockingham. While they transferred their garrisons from the King's Castles to their own, &c., &c." (1) The Earl could not "recover" Colchester, for he had never held it. (2) The Earl did not obtain it, for it was restored to the Lanvaleis. (3) Colchester was not a Baronial Castle (as Professor Stubbs implies) but essentially a Royal one (see Inquisition of 1637). So, too, with Rockingham, which was a Royal Castle *par excellence*, (*Arch. Journ.* i. 361, &c.) and which instead of being "recovered" by William of Aumâle, was committed (24th June, 1215) to William Mauduit. The

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he fostered the plan of revenge.[1] Nor were the Barons idle, King Philip was as yet at peace with John, but an advance force of 7,000 Frenchmen landed in Suffolk in November,[2] and a detachment was at once drafted into Colchester Castle. They were just in time. King John and his mercenaries, set free by the fall of Rochester,[3] marched to St. Alban's early in December, and he thence despatched a part of his forces to recover the Royal fortress. The mediæval siege-train moved slowly at the best of times. But in the depth of winter the difficulties were increased tenfold, and it was not till January the 29th that "Savaric the bloody" could plant his engines before the walls of Colchester Castle. Meanwhile the baronial forces were already hastening to its relief, and he thought it prudent to raise the siege within five days of its commencement.[4] But just as the vacillating Barons, some weeks before, had failed to relieve Rochester, so now their retreat enabled Savaric to renew the attack. The garrison, however, with its French contingent, was strong and well equipped, and the odds in these days were in favour of the besieged.[5] Savaric de Mauleon must have gazed with dismay on the mighty Tower of Colchester, when he remembered what it had cost his men to reduce even Rochester Castle.

"And true it is there had been no siege in those days more earnestly inforced, nor more obstinately defended, for after that all the limmes of the Castle had been reversed and thrown down, they kept the master tower" (*i.e.*, the keep) "till half thereof was overthrown, and after kept the other half, till through famine they were constrained to yield."[6]

source of Professor Stubbs' error is the passage in Walter of Coventry (II. 221), which he has misunderstood. "Reddiditque incontinenti rex unicuique jus suum, et obsides quos habebat, castella etiam vel tenementa quæ diu in manu suâ tenuerat...resignavit, castellum videlicet...de Colecestriâ," &c. The writer does not mean that John had deprived Barons of their own Castles, but only of their keeperships of the Royal ones. Thus, he goes on to explain that Geoffrey de Mandeville claimed the "restoration" of the Tower of London, as his hereditary right. I lay stress on this point, because these hereditary keeperships appear to be ignored by historians, and yet they must have proved a serious annoyance to the Crown, as is shewn by its efforts to break loose from them. (See also pp. 35, 39.)

[1] I find Stephen Harengood witnessing a Royal Grant 24th Sept., 1215.

[2] This expedition is a curious parallel to that of Ignatieff and his Russians into Servia, while the Czar was still at peace with the Sultan.

[3] William de Albini, after a desperate defence, surrendered Rochester on the 30th November (1215).

[4] R. Coggeshall p. 178.

[5] It is a remarkable fact that though Colchester Castle changed hands five times in those two or three years, it was never once captured.

[6] Holinshed iii. 188.

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We may learn the method of attack from a description of the siege of Bedford, eight years later, when the same Fulk de Bréauté, who was now serving with the besiegers, was himself besieged in his stronghold by the whole array of the realm.

"The Castle was taken by four assaults. In the first was taken the Barbican. In the second, the outer Ballium (Bailey). At the third attack the old tower was thrown down by the miners, when with great danger they possessed themselves of the inner Ballium through a chink. At the fourth assault the miners set fire to the Tower (keep), whereupon the enemy surrendered."

But while Savaric was plying his engines in vain, John grew impatient and set out for Colchester himself. Hastening from Ipswich on the 14th March, he emerged the same day from the woods on the Suffolk road and caught sight across the valley of the well-known form of the majestic donjon of the Colne. The stoutest hearts in that garrison must have quailed when they learnt that the King in person had arrived before their walls.[1] For now by the side of the Banner of England, its ruddy field gay with the golden leopards, there blazed before them, on its blood red Standard, the Dragon of the wrathful King.[2] It was a strange conflict. The French war-cry, "Montjoie St. Denis!" was hurled from the throats of English knights, and answered by shouts of "St. George! St. George!" from the hireling host of the aliens.[3] It seemed for a moment, at this crisis of our history, as if the fate of the Constitution were about to be decided by a struggle between the soldiers of Philip Augustus and the rabble rout of the Low Countries. But the Frenchmen's hearts quaked with fear as they bethought them of John and his merciless deeds,[4] and they hastened to purchase

[1] 14th March, 1216.

[2] "The Dragon of the great Pendragonship," adopted by the Saxon Princes, and displayed by Edmund Ironside at the battle of Assandun (Assingdon). It became the emblem of the Norman Kings, and is mentioned, as a dreaded symbol, at the battle of Lewes (1264)—"the Royal Standard which they call the Dragon, foretokening the judgment of death" (W. Rishanger). It was from 8 to 9 yards in length, and was ordered to be made "in the manner of a Standard or Ensign, of red samite, to be embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear as though continually moving."

[3] Compare with this situation the description of King John before Angers in Shakespeare's *King John* (Act II. Sc. 1).

[4] Compare again *King John*:—

> "But on the sight of us your lawful King,—
> Who painfully, with much expedient march,
> Have brought a countercheck before your gates,—
>
> Behold, the French, amaz'd, demand a parle."

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their safe departure by a shameful surrender of their English hosts.[1] They were under the command of four knights, each of whom had ten squires and eight mounted followers.[2] It is noteworthy that the force included 17 "balistarii" or engineers.[3] Two-and-twenty foot soldiers brought up the total number to a hundred-and-fifteen. On the 24th March they evacuated the Castle and set forth, under royal safe-conduct, to join their countrymen in London. "This," says Professor Stubbs, "was the highest point that John's fortunes ever reached."[4] Eager to reduce the Castle of Hedingham, he left Colchester on the morrow of the surrender, but not till he had again placed Stephen Harengoot in charge.[5] And thus the fortress once more changed hands. The vanions[6] of crimson and gold were torn from its stately battlements, and the lion of the Lanveleis waved no more on the walls of Colchester Castle.[7] The King's burgesses were still groaning beneath the exactions

[1] It is said that King John disowned the terms which his General had given, and threw all the English into prison.—"Although that covenant was kept with the Frenchmen, yet the Englishmen were staied and committed to prison. Whereupon when the Frenchmen came to London they were apprehended and charged with treason for making such composition."—Holinshed (1586) p. 190. So, at the later siege of Colchester (428 years after) the Rump put Lord Capel to death, though Fairfax had assured him of quarter.

[2] The horses are especially mentioned in the safe conduct, and must have been stabled in the Bailey of the Castle.

[3] This, I think, is one of many indications that just as English Artillerists were dependent on foreign ones for instruction down to the days of the Commonwealth, so, in mediæval times, we were behindhand in military science. The Conqueror is recorded to have employed foreign "balistarii," and "Heppo balistarius" was rewarded by him with lands in Lincolnshire. At this very period of the Charter, we find Hugh de Albemunt, a Frenchman, "carpenter" of Colchester Castle, and the names of the "sappers and miners" (*minatores nostros et petrarios*) employed at Corfe Castle are mostly French. Now also we find the Baronial Army failing to capture Northampton for want of engines of war, and when Prince Louis comes, he has to send over to France for a siege train. So, too, in the next reign, we are told that Simon de Montfort, who was used to French warfare, caused machines for siege to be constructed *till then unknown in England*, "leaving an example to the English how they ought to act in the sieges of Castles."

[4] *Const. Hist.* ii. 11.

[5] Harengood was installed as Sheriff on the 25th March, and there is a writ directed to him at the Castle on the 15th April.

[6] Small banners placed on Castles. Hence our word "Vane."

[7] Arms of Lanvalei: Gu. a lion passant or. The whole estate of W. de Lanvaley was granted 23rd April, 1216, to a foreign favourite, Engelric de Liskes.

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of the Royal Constable[1] when they beheld, one summer's afternoon, a formidable troop of horsemen winding down the Mile End Road. They proved, as they drew nearer to the walls, to be a party of turbulent Barons, who, having raided as far as Cambridge, were now speeding for London, plundering as they went. Their road did not lead them past the Castle, and Harengood seems to have remained behind its walls till the last horseman had ridden out of Head Gate, laden with the spoils of Colchester.[2]

The year 1216 had come and gone, but the struggle lingered on. Prince Louis, in his eagerness to obtain possession of Colchester, purchased its peaceful surrender[3] by a fresh truce. It was the last of the English fortresses to fall into his hands. And thus for a time the Lilies of France floated from the towers of that ancient citadel, quivering like stars on the azure banner, as it melted into the azure sky.

The treaty of Lambeth,[4] which closed the conflict, specially provided for the restoration of the Royal Castles. "William, Bishop of London," was the Constable appointed to Colchester[5] by the Ministers of the youthful King.[6] He had stood staunchly to the Royal cause when it had seemed well-nigh lost, and he now watched over the Royal Castle as zealously as though it were the See of London.[7] He had not long been appointed to the post when the violence of a March gale uprooted the palisade[8] of wood which crowned the Castle Hills. But he promptly selected, in accordance with official routine, two "lawful and discreet" men of Colchester, beneath whose watchful eyes the stockade was at once re-erected.[9] Meanwhile Richard

[1] I find 100 marks paid him on the 6th August for the pay of the soldiers in Colchester Castle (*Rot. Litt. Pat.*)

[2] "Ibidem simili rabie sævientes."—M. Paris.

[3] "Et præsidium Colecestriæ, pro treugis usque ad mensem post Pascham." W. Covent. ii. 235. He calls Colchester and Norwich "præsidia," but the others only "castella."

[4] 11th September, 1217.

[5] So, in 1223, Pandulph the Legate, succeeded Peter, Bishop of Winchester, as Constable of the Tower of London.

[6] Burgesses directed to pay him their "ferm" and obey his orders as to Castle, 10th July, 1218 (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*)

[7] Bishop to be credited with £20 out of "ferm" which he has placed in the Castle for emergencies. 16th October, 1218. (On the 24th February, 1224, he is ordered to pay over this £20 to his successor.) £5 out of "ferm" granted him for repairs of Castle. 21st January, 1223.

[8] "Palicium." This confirms Mr. Clark's views (see chap. iv.)

[9] This illustrates the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (Part ii. sec. 8) where it is explained how these two overseers (*custodes operum*) have to testify at the exchequer that the money has been well and lawfully expended by the Sheriff or Constable in executing needful works.

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de Montfichet, the Lord of Stanstead, who had regained the Forest of Essex after the triumph of the Barons at Runnymede, had been among the prisoners captured by the Royalists at the famous "Fair of Lincoln" (20th May, 1217). He was now compelled, on the promulgation of the Forest charter, to disgorge the King's Wood, which he had annexed to the Royal Forest, and to surrender it into the hands of the Bishop-Constable, "as appertaining and having always appertained" to the Keepership of the Royal Castle.[1]

On the translation of the Bishop to his new See at the close of 1223, it was at first intended, at that anxious time, to entrust the Castle to a warrior, Thomas de Blomfield,[2] but within ten days of the signing of his warrant, the Bishop was ordered to deliver it instead into the hands of Eustace, who had been appointed to succeed him in the See of London.[3] Thus for a time it continued in episcopal hands,[4] but it appears before long to have passed into those of Hubert de Burgh himself.

We ought not to pass over these constant changes as if they were mere formalities. The long catalogue of the Constables becomes invested with a very real meaning when we discover that these changes reflect in miniature those struggles which convulsed the Realm from the days of Stephen to those of the second Charles. Thus here, it was in 1223 that the great Minister, Hubert de Burgh, was sealing the triumph of his policy by recovering the Royal Castles for the immediate control of the Crown.[5] But "the true and noble Hubert, who made England England," had more than an official claim to the command of this fortress. He had married his son to Hawys, heiress of the Lanvaleis, and in her right he assumed its charge.

[1] See the writ in Morant (Book ii. p. 26), though he seems ignorant of the circumstances which explain it. The Charter was issued on the 6th November, and this writ is dated 29th November. As the Charter ordered the "Forests" to be restricted to their former limits, it is clear that the King's Wood had not been part of them, but was woodland of "ancient demesne."

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 8 H. III., 28th Nov. 1223. Rex W. quondam Londoniensi episcopo salutem. Sciatis quod ad indemnitatem nostram et castri nostri de Colecestriâ et ne ab incursu hostium nostrorum nobis in parte illâ sit timendum commisimus Thomæ de Blumville castrum nostrum, &c., &c.

[3] *Rot. Pat.* 8 H. III. 8th Dec., 1223. Rex commisit E. Londoniensi episcopo castrum de Colecestriâ &c., &c. Thomas de Blomfield was appointed instead to the Constableship of the Tower of London.

[4] *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 24th Feb. 1224. William, late Bishop, to pay over to Eustace, now Bishop, the £20 belonging to Colchester Castle (see above).

[5] See Shirley's *Royal Letters*, i. 508.

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Her name is on the roll of St. John's Benefactors, and we are reminded by her gift that there was a time, in this England of ours, when men could be given and bought and sold.[1]

On the tragic fall of De Burgh in 1232, the keepership passed to Stephen de Segrave, a brilliant adventurer, who succeeded to Hubert's offices and became the greatest pluralist of the age. "He more minded," says the Chronicler, "his own profit than the common good, yet, making a discreet testament, he died with much honour." It is interesting to find in 1251 the first mention of "the felons in the King's Prison of Colchester."[2]

A fresh transfer now warns us that the constitutional struggle is about to recommence. The Castle, then seemingly in the hands of the Sheriff, is handed over for life, with all its rights and profits, to a simple Essex squire, Guy de Rochfort, of Berden Hall.[3] But as in 1223-4, the contest again centered round the possession of the Royal Castles, and the Barons rested not till by the Provisions of Oxford (1258) they had secured the appointment of the Constables. So Guy de Rochfort, the Royal nominee, is at once replaced by the Earl Marshal, that terrible Roger Bigod, who had given the King the lie.[4] Seven years later, the tables were again turned, and the decisive victory of Evesham (4th Aug., 1265) enabled the Red Earl,[5] through whose defection from the Barons the Royalists had won the day, to secure for his brother Thomas, the charge of the Fortress.

The accession of Edward in 1272 marks a new Era in the history of the Castle. Its military importance is passing away, and is replaced by its pecuniary value. Henceforth it is a struggle for gold and not a struggle for power, a struggle between the King and the Sheriff, not between the King and the Barons. On the 18th December, 1273,[6] the Castle, together with the Hundred of Tendring, was granted for life to John de Burgh, grandson of the last of the Lanvaleis. He was, however, replaced, within two years, by Richard de Holebrook,

[1] She gives to the Monks 5 tenants in villenage. On her death in 1249, she was buried with her fathers in the chapter-house of the Abbey (St. John's Chron. in Leland.)

[2] 16th June, 1251, two men charged with murder let out on bail *Exc. e rot. fin.*

[3] He had license for free-warren in 1248 and died in 1274. See Morant for full terms of patent (12th June, 1256), which are very exhaustive.

[4] Writ "de castris commissis" copied in Morant's unpublished MSS.

[5] Gibert "the Red," 7th Earl of Gloucester, and 3rd Earl of Hertford, son-in-law of Edward I. d. 1295.

[6] *Cal. Rot. Pat.*

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a trusty officer of the Crown."[1] But the right of the King to grant it away was at the time successfully disputed, and it was handed over to "Laurence of the Exchequer," Sheriff of Essex, the building to be used for the King's felons,[2] and the demesnes to be sown for the use of the Crown. The Sheriffs seem to have made good their claim for the space of some 80 years, till the increased power of the Crown enabled it to renew the contest. In the meanwhile the office of Constable continued to be discharged by deputy, and we are told how "William de Crepping, Constable of Colchester, came, in virtue of his office, to the house of Stephen Cawe, in Fordham, with other bailiffs, and broke into his house, and into the chest in his chamber, and stole 5 sh. and carried him off to Colchester prison, and took ½ mark to let him go."[3] This form of brigandage was extremely popular, not only with the robber-knights, whose strongholds were the terror of the Rhine, but also, as we shall see anon, with the "Constables" of Merrie England.

After a triumphant reign of a quarter of a century, Edward the Third could well afford to revive the claims of the Crown. In 1352, he conferred the Castle, with all its appendages, on a gallant follower, Robert de Benhale, created, shortly after, a Peer of the Realm. He only received it, however, on condition of being responsible for the prisoners. The next grantee was George de Felbrig who received the whole in 1377 at a Crown-rent of £30. But the Royal power was again sinking. The Parliament, which assembled in 1385, anticipated at a bound the modern cry of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." Among the list of grievances to be redressed, presented in its second year, was a petition from the Commons of Essex and Herts, who complained that the Crown had filched from the Sheriff two-thirds of the sources of his revenue. One of the aggressions which they specify is that "in the old time, the Castle of Colchester with the appurtenances thereof used to be in the hands of the Sheriffs, *and was a great source of profit to them.*"[4] We may presume that the remonstrance

[1] I find him appointed to the Constableship of Rockingham Castle a few years later (9 Edw. 1).

[2] Norwich Castle was used as a prison as early as Henry I, but this use did not prevent the upper part of a Castle continuing to be inhabited (*Archæologia* IV. p. 403). These Royal Castles were appointed to be public and privileged Prisons at all times, but it was unlawful to confine prisoners in any other Castles, except in time of war.

[3] Presentment from Bures in *Rotuli Hundr.*

[4] "Et auxint qu'en ancienne temps le chastell de Colecestre ove les appurtenances fuist en mayns les Viscountes, and ceo fuist graunt profit pur eaux." *Rot. Parl.* 9 Rich. II. n. 19.

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was for a time successful, though the "ancienne temps" was a bold expression for the comparatively recent Sheriff's claim.[1] But with the accession of the first Lancaster, that claim was again challenged. In 1404, King Henry granted to his son Humfrey,[2] then a mere lad, and to his heirs in tail male, the Castle and "fee-farm" of Colchester and the Hundred of Tendring.[3] It was a bold step for the Reformers' King to take, yet, strange to say, it was confirmed by the "Unlearned Parliament" which met at the close of the year,[4] though the King had been actually forced to sanction a retrospective motion for the resumption of all grants since 1367.[5] From that time the right of the Crown was never again disputed.

The youthful Humfrey, whose prudent father had thus provided for his future, did not receive the Dukedom of Gloucester till ten years later.[6] His representative at Colchester was the Deputy-Constable, William Dych by name. There were wild doings in those days within the walls of the grim Castle. The irregular jurisdiction of the Royal Constable was a standing menace to the helpless Burgesses, among whom he could swoop down and pounce upon his prey, and then defy from his eyrie an attempt to rescue his victims.[7] Here, for instance, is the story as told by the townsfolk, of the treatment of a Colchester maiden in the year 1406.

[1] Specially in view of the maxim *nullum tempus occurrit regi.*

[2] Strangely enough he was the grandson and namesake of the last Earl of Hereford and Essex, the descendant and heir of Eudo Dapifer.

[3] "Rex concess' Humfrido de Lancastr' filio suo in speciali tallio, viz. hæredibus masculis, castr' de Colecestre et hundredum de Tendryng ac feodi firmam villæ de Colecestr' *quæ sunt parcellæ coronæ Regis*," &c., &c. Cal. Rot. Pat. 6 H. IV.

[4] R. Ballivis vill.' ntr.'—De avisamento et assensu ultimi Parliamenti nri' apud Coventre convocati dederim et concesserim carissime fil' nro Humfro', de Lancastre," &c., &c.

[5] These alienated lands were known as *terræ datæ.*

[6] Hence the strange confusion as to his identity. The boy's name, at the time of the grant, was merely "Humfrey de Lancastre." This, in Morant's M.SS. notes, became Humfrey, *Duke of* Lancaster, then, in his History (1748), "Henry Duke of Gloucester," and finally, in the Reprint of 1812, "Henry, Duke of Lancaster!" Mr. Watson (who had evidently only consulted the Reprint) increased the confusion by informing us that Henry was not "Duke of Lancaster" (as in Morant) but *Prince of Wales!* On this discovery he based his chapter on Bardolf (*Ancient Colchester*), which is thus, as we see, deprived of its point. If he needed a Shaksperian character, he might have taken Sir John Fastolf, who actually appears in the Town Rolls as Defendant for a debt (30th H. VI.), as may be seen in the pages of Harrod.

[7] Compare the Petition from the Commons, in this very reign, that Constables and Governors, by becoming J.P.'s, used their Castles to seize and imprison those to whom they bore ill-will till they were

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"The aforesaid William Snook and William Dych, maliciously devising to infringe our freedom and privileges, laid hands illegally on a certain Matilda Haras, daughter of Sabinus Haras, who was staying at the house of the aforesaid William, within the walls of Colchester, and without permission or warrant, carried off the said Matilda to Colchester Castle, and there cruelly imprisoned her, and placed thumb-screws on her hands till the blood oozed forth."[1]

As the Haras family were well-to-do people, we may darkly gather that Snook had plotted with Dych, the Keeper, for the abduction of the youthful heiress and her forcible union with himself.[2] But it was reserved for another of these gentry, some fifteen years later, to devise a stroke which for cool impudence has probably never been surpassed. The name of this worthy was William Bardolf.[3] His predatory operations were at first restricted to "lifting" his neighbours' cattle. These he drove into the Castle pound and there held them to ransom.[4] But anon the cateran grew wanton. Emboldened by success he resolved to impound not only the cattle but their owners. The time of his attempt was well chosen. It was on a fine summer's evening in the year of grace 1420, and the chief inhabitants of Colchester, including the Bailiffs themselves, were taking the air with their wives and daughters in their wonted place of resort. As they walked to and fro upon the Castle Hills, clad in all their bravery, their enjoyment was untroubled by the gloomy fortress or the sight of its frowning battlements. For they were very merry withal. It was a

ransomed. Petitioners pray that no Constable may be appointed a J.P. Petition granted. *Rot. Parl.* See also, for a similar outrage at this period, the case of Geoffrey Rowland in 1402 (*Rot. Parl.* 4 H. IV.) He petitions Parliament, as "a poor and simple squire of the county of Derby," for redress against the injuries inflicted on him by Thomas Wandesby Kt., and others, who came and besieged his house, and having pillaged the same, carried him off to the Castle of the High Peak (compare Stephen Cawe's case above) where they kept him six days without meat and drink, and then cut off his right hand, and sent him adrift.

[1] "Supra pollices suos maniclos imposuerunt quod sanguis ab eis exiebat." Town Rolls.

[2] There is a curious parallel to this case, though 80 years before it, in William Savage, "Keeper of the Gate of the Castle of Canterbury" being questioned for taking the daughter of Hamon Trendherst, "by Force and Arms, over against the Castle, and carrying her into the Castle, and there holding her eight days and upwards." (Crown Rolls, 15 Ed. II.)

[3] Others of the family occur in the town records. This William was living in the High Street, two doors from St. Nicholas, not long before (See Will of Thomas Fraunceys, 1416).

[4] See Presentments in Town Rolls.

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proud time for England, and we may well believe that the wealthy burghers were talking to one another of the treaty of Troyes, by which France, as it seemed, had just been laid at the feet of the Victor of Agincourt. But the peace of that pleasant scene was destined to be rudely broken. A harsh yell burst upon their ears, and Bardolf stood before them, followed from his ambush by his reckless crew, armed with swords and cudgels. There were curses from the townsmen and screams from the women, as the gang of desperadoes hurried their victims towards the great Norman gateway, dragging the burgesses by their flowing sleeves,[1] and scoffing at the Bailiffs' robes.[2] It was not till the iron-studded portal, swinging slowly on its creaking hinges, had closed on the last of the prisoners, that the wild hubbub was at length hushed in the deadly stillness of the prison-house.[3]

It was not till 1447 that Colchester Castle passed from Gloucester's hands. "The good Duke Humfrey," "the father of his people," had made relentless foes in the course of his chequered career. There were men thirsting for his blood—and his estates—and by them he was doomed to die. To this end a parliament was summoned to meet at Bury St. Edmund's, "the which parlement was maad only for to sle the noble Duke of Gloucestre." The parliament met amid frost and snow on the 10th of February, 1447. "And no doubte of hit," adds the chronicler,[4] "was a fervent coolde weder and a bytynge." Suffolk, the Duke's leading opponent, had called out the country side, "and alle the weyes aboute the said town off Bury, be commaundement of the said Duke of Suffolk, were kept with gret multitude of peple of the cuntre, wakyng day and nyghte; unknowyng the said peple wherefore it was; and the wedir was so colde that some of the poer peple that there wakid, deide for

[1] Just then in fashion.

[2] "The Maire and Bailifs of Colchestre may use and were such Aray as is afore lymyted unto squires and gentylmen afore specified haveyng possessions of the yerely value of xl £." (This "Aray" was "damaske and sateen.") "And the forsaid Maires, &c., and their Wyfes may use and were the forsaid furres of Mattrones, Funes, Letyce, pured Grey, or pured Menyver, and also that their said Wyfes may use and were gilt Gyrdels and Kerchiefs of the price of a plyte of 5s." *Rot. Parl.*, 3-4 Ed. IV. 20.

[3] Quod W. Bardulf injuste and contra pacem domini. Regis vi et armis, gladiis et fustibus, in Ballivâ Castri jacuit in insidiis: Et cum Ballivi et honorabiles homines et uxores eorum in jocunditate suâ ambulabant sicut ab antiquo haberi solebant, ex malitiâ suâ præcogitâ ipsos ibidem reclusit, et ipsos imprisonavit, sine pracepto vel warranto domini Regis." Town Rolls, 7 H. V.

[4] English Chronicle (Richard II., 1471).—Ed. Davies.

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colde." On the 18th February the Duke, at the head of his retinue, rode up to the gates of Bury. He was arrested the same evening, and on the 23rd he was found dead in his bed. The assembly was hastily broken up, but not till the young King had granted [1] to that wife whom the Duke had striven to prevent his marrying, that Castle of Colchester which his Uncle had possessed for nearly half-a-century.[2]

With the fall of the House of Lancaster the Keepership was again transferred, falling to the share of Sir John Howard, a brilliant partisan of the House of York.[3] But when Sir John, together with the cause he had espoused, perished on Bosworth field, the Keepership became in turn the reward of a humble follower of the Red Rose. On the 20th of September, 1485, "the offices of Constable of Colchester Castle, of Keeper of the same Castle, and the Royal Demesnes there" were conferred on Thomas Kendale, for life, "for service as well within the realm as in foreign parts."[4] Kendale, like his predecessors, installed a deputy, whose conduct brought him into trouble with the Crown.[5] But the Castle was coveted by a greater man. John de Vere of Hedingham Castle, 13th Earl of Oxford, and the most princely of the Lancastrian nobles, was already Constable of the Tower when he obtained the Constableship of Colchester Castle, Kendale being induced to surrender his rights.[6] The grant was confirmed to him by Henry VIII., soon after his accession, in a charter so remarkable that it deserves special notice.[7] This document not only assumes that the Empress Maud's grant had conferred on the De Veres an *hereditary* Constableship, but actually asserts that they had exercised the office uninterruptedly from that time.[8] A more

[1] Pat. 25 H. VI. p. 2 m. 27 (1447).

[2] From an Assize Roll of 1455 in the Gray collection (among the Round Papers) it would appear that Assizes were at that time held within the Castle.

[3] Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 4 m. 7 (1461).

[4] The original grant passed with the Castle into the hands of Mr. Charles Gray. The mention of "Foreign parts" suggests his kinship to John Kendale, the famous Turcopolier of Rhodes.

[5] 3rd January, 1487. "Special pardon for all wilful escapes of felons from his custody for William Derby, late deputy of Thomas Kendale, Constable of Colchester Castle."

[6] 5th Nov., 1496 (Pat. 11 H. VII.)

[7] See Rymer's *Fœdera* xiii. 251. Pro Comiti Oxoniæ Carta Matildæ imperatricis confirmata. 6th May, 1509.

[8] "Castrum et Turrim de Colecestriâ cum pertinentiis in comitatu Essexia, Habendum sibi *et Hæredibus suis* prout per cartane illano nobis ostensano, plenius liquet."

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barefaced mis-statement we cannot well conceive.[1] On the Earl's death he was succeeded as Constable by his nephew, then a minor, "little John of Campes,"[2] and on his dying in 1526, his cousin, another John, succeeded as 15th Earl. It is during the latter's tenure of the Castle that we obtain, in connection with its jail, a curious glimpse of the manners of the time.[3] But there is a transaction recorded on the town rolls, about 1530, which reveals a state of things infinitely more curious. Richard Antony, Gent., had been elected Burgess for Colchester to the Parliament of 1529, but "afterwards, by the command (!) and special desire of the Earl of Oxford, he renounced the office of Burgess of Parliament, and afterwards, at the special request of the said Earl made to the Bailiffs, the aforesaid Antony resigned his office of Burgess of Parliament to Richard Ryche, Gent., one of the Council of the said Earl." Verily the Constable of Colchester Castle must have been in those days a great man!

The Castle would appear to have remained in the Earl's hands till his death in 1539. Two years later (4th June, 1541) it was granted to his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards Lord Darcy of Chiche.[4] But on the accession of Queen Mary in 1553, she deprived Lord Darcy of the Constableship, and committed it to a gentleman of her Court, Anthony Kempe by name. And now began that fearful persecution in which Colchester added so many a name to the martyr-roll of the Reformation.

Of the condition of the town during its fiery ordeal we obtain a vivid glimpse in a letter written by a local priest, one of the great neighbouring family of Tey.

"The rebels are stout in the towne of Colchester. The ministers of the Church are hemmed at in the open streets, and called knaves. The

[1] "Et omnes antecessores sui, de tempore cujus contraria memoria Hominum non existit, similiter seisiti fuerunt de Castro et Turre prædictis," &c., &c.

[2] "Wardship of John Veer, kinsman and heir of John Veer, late Earl of Oxford . . . during Veer's minority the offices of Great Chamberlain of England, of Steward of Essex or Waltham Forest, *and Constable of the Castle of Colchester*."—State Papers.

[3] 5th March, 1528, Thomas Matthew, of Colchester, is tried for heresy, abjures, and is ordered to give 6s. 8d. in alms during five weeks in Lent, viz., 16d. to *the prisoners in Colchester Castle*, 8d. to prisoners elsewhere, and the rest to the poor of the town, in bread and herrings, and that he must break the loaves before distributing them to the prisoners.

[4] A Favourite of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and grantee of St. Osyth's. At the same time. "John Assheton, yeoman," was appointed "keeper of Colchester Castle" (*i.e.*, of the Jail there).

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blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon in every house and tavern. Prayer and fasting are not regarded."[1]

This should be compared with Evelyn's description, just a century later.[2]

"For the rest, this is a ragged and factious towne, now swarming with sectaries."

It is always interesting to trace in history the origin and growth of characteristic features in the social aspect of a community. The bellicose Protestantism of Colchester is of no recent growth. Fostered from the dawn of the Reformation by the influx of foreign refugees, it was goaded to madness by the Marian persecution, and subsequently revived by the arrival in the town of over 500 Flemish exiles, "who for conscience sake had fled out of Flanders."[3] This was not till twenty years[4] after the accession of Mary. But there had meanwhile been a continuous immigration of "the Dutchmen banished for God's Word."[5] The doctrines for which they were some of them banished could only be described as "God's Word" by the wildest flight of imagination,[6] but the tales which they told of the merciless Spaniard, and of all the horrors of fire and stake must have kindled among the people of Colchester an execration of the Romish Faith.

The scenes which the Castle now witnessed were perhaps the most tragic in its history,—scenes of which the remembrance has moulded the thought, and shaped the destinies of England. It were presumptuous to attempt a more eloquent description than that which was left us by the Martyrs' historian, in a work which long was an English Classic. It is he who tells us how, when the persecution was most fiercely raging, a raid for Protestants was made upon the villages of the Tendring Hundred.[7]

"One Master Edmund Tyrell took with him the Bailiff of the Hundred,[8] called William Simuel (Simnell[9]), dwelling in Colchester, and the two Constables of Much Bentley aforesaid, . . . and besetting the house of

[1] Letter from "Sir" Thomas Tye, 18th Dec., 1557.—*Fox.*
[2] *Diary*, 8th July, 1656.
[3] Town Rolls.
[4] 1573.
[5] Town Rolls.
[6] See Morant's extracts from Wilkinson's *Confutation of the Family of Love.* The doctrines of the "Familists" (as they were termed) took some root in Colchester.
[7] 7th March, 1557.
[8] Notice here the jurisdiction of the Bailiff. Compare chap. vii.
[9] The Simnells were of consequence in the town. One of them was member for Colchester at the close of the next reign (see chap. vii.)

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the said William Mount round about, called to them at length to open the door: which being done, Master Tyrell, with certain of his company, went into the chamber where the said Father Mount and his wife lay, willing them to rise, 'for,' said he, 'you must go with us to Colchester Castle.' . . . Furthermore, after the searching of the house for more company, at the last they found one John Thurston and Margaret his wife there also, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester Castle immediately. . . . With the same William Mount and his family was joined also in the same prison at Colchester another faithful brother, named John Johnson (alias Aliber), of Thorpe, in the County of Essex, labourer, of the age of four and thirty years, having no wife alive, but three young children, who were with him indicted of heresy, and so all these four lay together in Colchester Castle."

The gloomy dungeons which still remain must have echoed the psalms of these prisoners for the faith, as they awaited their summons to the stake.

"Thus these poor condemned lambs being delivered into the hands of the secular power, were committed again everyone unto the prison from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort (in continual reading and invocating the name of God), ever looking and expecting the happy hour of their dissolution."

The law moved but slowly, and it was not till the 2nd of August that, after months of weary waiting, the faggots were piled at length beneath the Castle walls

"And because the faithful souls were in two several prisons, as the Castle was for the County, and Motehall for the Town, therefore it was agreed that they in Motehall should be burnt in the forenoon, and those in the Castle by the Sheriff of the Shire in the afternoon The said day, in the afternoon, were brought forth into the Castle Yard" (*i.e.*, the Bailey) "to a place appointed for the same, William Mount, John Johnson, Alice Mount, and Rose Allin, aforesaid, which godly constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the stakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the people earnestly to flee from idolatry, suffered their martyrdom with such triumph and joy that the people did no less shout to see it than at the others that were burnt the same day in the morning. Thus ended all those glorious souls that day their happy lives unto the Lord."

One member of the little band had passed, it would seem, to his rest, while the earth was yet bright with the flowers of Spring.

"Ye have heard of the taking of John Thurston at Much Bentley in the house of William Mount, which said John Thurston afterward, about the month of May in the year aforesaid, died in Colchester Castle, a constant confessor of Jesus Christ."

His widow, for some obscure reason, did not suffer with the others, but remained a prisoner in the Castle.

"What the cause was the testimony of Jean Cook shall declare unto us, which Jean Cook, the wife now of John Spark, being then in the Castle of Colchester for religion, did demand of this widow Thurston, whose husband died in the prison, being imprisoned for religion, where-

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fore the said Margaret should be reserved when the others suffered in the Castle Bailey. She answered that it was not for any fear of death, but, being prepared as the others were that suffered the same day, she felt in herself a great shivering and trembling of the flesh, whereupon, forsaking the company, she went aside to pray. And whilst she was praying she thought that she was lifted up with a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that instant came in the gaoler, and company with him, and whilst she turned herself to fetch her Psalter, they took the other prisoners, and left her alone."

That she had not quailed "from any fear of death" was manifested shortly after, for

"When the foresaid good women were brought to the place in Colchester where they should suffer, the 17th day of September in the year aforesaid, they fell down upon both their knees, and made humble prayers unto the Lord; which thing being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately thereto chained; and after the fire had compassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their souls, spirits, and bodies into the hands of the Lord."[1]

The accession of Elizabeth was the signal for a change in the Constableship of Colchester Castle. Lord Darcy, who held under her father's grant, died opportunely at this moment, and having ousted Kempe, her sister's nominee, she bestowed the post[2] upon one of her Gentlemen Pensioners, Henry Macwilliam, of Stambourne Hall, whose family had been seated in Essex for many generations.[3] In his hands, and those of his descendants, the Castle remained for over a Century. On his death in 1586, his son, another Henry, succeeded to the post, but was killed in a duel 8 June 1599, leaving no issue. The Castle having thus reverted to the Crown, it was restored to the family by Queen Elizabeth, who granted it to Sir John Stanhope,[4] her treasurer of the chamber, during the life of the elder Macwilliam's widow.[5] Sir John had married her eldest daughter (co-heir to her brother, the younger Henry), and had inherited in her right the Stambourne Hall Estates.[6] This was in 1599. To continue the descent, while we are on the subject, we find that on the accession of James I the grant was not only confirmed, but extended over the lives of Sir

[1] These extracts from Foxe are inserted in full, as their arrangement in the original is much involved, and somewhat difficult to follow.

[2] 14 Dec. 1558.

[3] His wife was the widow of that zealous Protestant, Sir John Cheke, who had been tutor to Edward VI., and was afterwards persecuted by Mary.

[4] He was a cadet of the Stanhopes of Harrington. His seat was Shalford, Notts., and he was then M.P. for Northants.

[5] State Papers (*Domestic*) 13 Dec. 1599.

[6] Morant's *Essex*.

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John (then Vice-Chamberlain) and Charles Stanhope, his son.[1] This grant, which was again confirmed in 1607,[2] was the source of the curious litigation on the alienation of the Castle by the Crown.[3]

In the meanwhile the Castle had received prisoners of a very different stamp from the meek martyrs of the Reformation. Among them were some concerned in a somewhat curious rising in favour of the Catholic cause. As Colchester was the scene of this attempt, and as it has never hitherto been described, I here insert a notice of it, extracted from the State Papers. Our first notice of it is in a letter from Sir Thomas Lucas, then Recorder of Colchester, to the ever watchful Burghley and the members of the Privy Council. Writing from his Manor House of St. John's[4] on the 16 June 1596, he informs them that he is sending up a retainer of Sir Thomas Smythe (ringleader of the rebels) "in custody of William Ayers, keeper of Colchester gaol," and he incloses some interesting depositions. That of George Cole, a Dedham yeoman,[5] is worth reproducing. He is describing a muster of the Colchester trained bands, at that time some 260 strong.[6]

"Sir John Smythe came riding into Windmill Field with the Earl of Hertford's second son, Mr. Seymour, Mr. Brome, and Thomas, Mannock and coming in front of the pikemen as they stood in square, with two wings of bowmen standing in flank,[7] he said, 'My masters, if you will go with me, you shall not go out of the land, but I will spend my life with you.' The pikemen asked if they should go with him there, to which Sir John replied 'You shall go with a better man than myself or Sir Thomas Lucas; here is a nobleman of the blood-royal, brother to the Earl of Beauchamp,[8] that shall be your captain under whom I am

[1] State Papers (*Domestic*) 5 June 1603. "Grant to Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain, and Charles his son, of the keepership of Colchester Castle and appurtenances (on his surrender of a like grant by the late Queen in reversion after Henry Macwilliams for the life of Mary Cheek, widow)—for the lives of the said Mary, Sir John and Charles."

[2] Grant to John, Lord Stanhope" (of Harrington) "and Charles Stanhope, his son, of the custody of Colchester Castle, Essex, in the same manner as heretofore held by Thomas, Lord Darcy," &c., &c. State Papers (Domestic) 7 April 1607.

[3] See Chap. VI.

[4] The Lucases had purchased St John's Abbey in 1548, and converted it into their family seat.

[5] Taken 12 June.

[6] See letter of Corporation 22 June 1591. "The great decay that this Towne ys fallen into, and the charge of *thyrtene score trained soldiers*."

[7] This was the famous *tertia* formation, which was adhered to through the civil war, only that musketeers took the place of the bowmen.

[8] Nephew to Lady Jane Grey, and, by Act of Parliament, rightful claimant to the throne.

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assistant. All that will go with me hold up your hands and follow me.' Thereupon he commanded 12 of the best archers to follow him, but they all answered that if their captain would bid them go they would, but not without. Thereupon Sir John, clapping Mr. Brome on the back. 'You will go with me?' But deponent heard no answer. Mr. Mannock being then also on horseback, he clapped him on the shoulder and said 'You will go with me?" To which Mannock replied 'I will!' Mannock is a recusant Papist,[1] dwelling in his own house in Copford Parish, three miles from Colchester."

The would-be rebels fled for their lives, and Lucas was able, a week later, to announce the capture of Brome,—

"I found Laurence Brome, after long search, at Little Baddow, the parish where Sir John dwells, and caused him to be apprehended and sent to your Lordships in custody of Wm. Ayers, gaoler of Colchester Castle. I have committed one of good ability to the gaol of Colchester Castle, where he still remains as an example."

Some of the committals of prisoners are significant enough to be worth-noting. In 1625 some Roman Catholics were confined in the Castle "for seditious speeches." The dread of the apprehended Catholic reaction continued to make itself felt, and the doctrines of the Laudian clergy made them objects of hearty dislike. We find the Earl of Warwick writing from his seat at Lee[2] (27 July, 1640) to Secretary Vane.

"The soldiers have been reasonably quiet till this last occasion (at Braintree), caused by a barrel of beer and 50 sh. in money, sent them by Dr. Barlham, parson of Bocking, of whose kindness it seems they took too much, for I found them much disordered by drink that day, and they went to his church, and pulled up the rails about the communion table,[3] and burnt them before their captain's lodgings."

These sturdy Protestants were despatched to Colchester to

[1] Of the Mannocks' of Giffords Hall, Stoke-by-Nayland.

[2] Lees Priory in Little Leigh, granted at the dissolution to the Riches, afterwards Earls of Warwick.

[3] Notice here that the language of the Prayer-book was still adhered to, and the word "Altar" had not yet crept into use. These riots were going on in all directions, and were produced by the Laudian innovators having removed the Table from the body of the Church, where it had previously stood (a practice even now optional by the Rubric), into the Chancel, and there railing it in. This was stopped by "An Order of Parliament against divers Popish Innovations," 8 Sept. 1641, viz.:— "It is this day ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled that the Churchwardens of every Parish and Chappel respectively doe forthwith remove the Communion-table from the East-end of the Church, Chappell, or Chancell into some other convenient place; and that they take away the rails, and level the Chancels, as heretofore they were, before the late Innovations." A Committee was appointed to enforce this Order 10 May, 1643.

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cool their zeal within the Castle Walls.[1]

Two short years have passed, years crowded with great events, when the Castle for the first time meets us as a State Bastille. The long Parliament is deep in projects of Reform in Church and State; its members have been escorted to Westminster in triumph; they are pressing on the king that famous Bill which was to deprive him of his power over the forces of the realm; they are resolved to trample under foot the voices of moderation and of protest. Some leading city merchants, in the exercise of their undoubted rights, have ventured to petition Parliament against this extreme measure.

"In which seditious plot and divilish designe of theirs, though many of no small or mean ranke and quality it in the Citie, yea, and some of the highest degree thereof, had deep hands and spotted hearts to further it, and therefore had subscribed to it, yet one or two most pragmaticall spirits among them were chief agents namely, one Mr. Binion,[2] a silkman in Cheapside, who was made an example of terrour to the rest, ... being fined £3,000, disfranchised from the immunities of the Citie, made uncapable of ever bearing any office in the Commonwealth, and imprisoned for two years in the Castle of Colchester."[3]

It is instructive to read, in the pages of its panegyrist, this vengeance which the long Parliament — so devoted to the repression of tyranny — inflicted on an unfortunate Alderman for presenting a distasteful petition![4] Sentence was pronounced 8 April, 1642 (Journals) and on the 20th of June it was "ordered that George Benyon" (then in the Tower) "shall be presently sent to Colchester Gaol to be kept there according to the sentence pronounced against him by this House." (*Ib.*)

The Castle, from its position, was well suited to receive the "suspects" of the party in power. It has been said that we owe to a Liberal Government the introduction of this word into the language, but it is clear that the thing, if not the name, is as old as the days of their predecessors, the leaders of the long Parliament. Events had marched rapidly since the committal of Alderman Benyon, and the Roundhead party

[1] Letter from Sheriff 4 Aug. 1640. "The principal delinquents for breaking down the communion-table rails I have committed to Colchester Castle" (State Papers).

[2] George Benyon, alderman, afterwards knighted by Charles I.

[3] Vicar's *Jehovah Jireh or God in the Mount: a Parliamentarie Chronicle* (1644) p. 75.

[4] "Manifest encroachments on the executive power, and the enormous extension of privilege, under which every person accused on the slightest testimony of disparaging their proceedings . . . was dragged before them as a delinquent and lodged in their prison." Hallam's *Const. Hist.* (1872) II. 141.

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took advantage in November of the threatened approach of the King to arrest some prominent Londoners, suspected of being lukewarm in their zeal, and to send them to Colchester Castle to join their imprisoned fellow-citizen.

"Another Order came forth also about the same time from the Parliament to the L. Mayor of London, by which the Trained Bands of the City in their Armes, being authorized thereunto, apprehended many of the prime and richest Malignants in the City, whereof were four Aldermen, viz., Sir J. Whitmore, Sir W. Acton, Sir H. Garaway, and Sir J. Cordwell, and put them in safe custody and lastly they ordered that Alderman Whitmore and these other Malignants . . . should be secured in *Colchester-Jaile* and other remote prisons out of the City, that so they might not be at libertie to doe or counsell mischief."[1]

Fresh Royalist prisoners arrived the following spring. Croyland, in Lincolnshire, had risen for the king, but was stormed by Cromwell in May, after a long and gallant resistance. "Divers were taken in the Town, and clapt up in prison at Colchester, Ipswich," &c.[2]

Its situation and its ruinous condition alike rendered the Castle of no account in the military history of the siege. It was nothing, as Carter truly says, but "a Dungeon and the County Jail." Defoe states (1722) that the besiegers soon ceased firing at it, finding that their shot made little impression and that it was not occupied by their opponents. The Royalists, however, as we learn from Rushworth, had thoughts of making it their last refuge.

"Others believe that they will quit the Town, and retire to the Castle, *where they are building*. Therefore to keep all in is surely the best way, and it is said they will carry our Committee along with them into the Castle."[3]

But with the last scene of that eventful drama the Castle was indissolubly connected. On the afternoon of the 28th August 1648, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, "the condemned but not convicted knights,"[4] were hurried from the Moot Hall under a strong guard, down the High Street and through the Bailey Entrance, till they reached the gateway of the Castle. Both the walls of the central corridor were then standing, and the prisoners must have passed beneath the little archway in the now demolished wall, and then down the gloomy corridor to the Dungeon at its southern end. Here they spent the few hours which their enemies had allotted them to live, their petition for a brief

[1] *Jehovah Jireh* pp. 207, 212.
[2] Ib. p. 325.
[3] Letter to Lenthall 8 August.
[4] As Carter accurately terms them (p. 228).

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respite having at once been sternly refused.[1] Fairfax had stipulated that he should be "free to put some immediately to the sword,"[2] and his army were clamouring for blood "that so they might be at peace with God."[3] The famous lines of the Poet of the Royalists,—[4]

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage,—

must have risen to the minds of the condemned gentlemen as they found themselves in the caverns of the Castle. For "they knew themselves not to have acted anything deserving of death at the hands of an enemy."[5] And so,—the Chronicler adds,—"they went to prayers."[6]

The clocks were on the point of striking seven,[7] as the loyalist leaders, gaunt and haggard, emerged from beneath the Norman archway, guarded by the soldiery of Fairfax. Dwarfed by the mass of the mighty keep the little procession wound its way, passing round the foot of the Western wall, the spot where the Protestant Martyrs had ascended their chariot of flame. Far up the valley of the Colne the sun was sinking to its rest, flooding with a golden glory the towers of the ruined stronghold, flashing in liquid fire from the face of cuirass and morion, and drowning the flicker of the soldiers' matches as they stood like grim statues with their long shadows athwart the sward. Such was the scene where the Loyalists were to die "for the Laws and Liberties of England."[8]

[1] Carter p. 229.
[2] Reply of Fairfax's Commissioners.
[3] Petition of Ireton's Regiment. Printed 1648.
[4] Lovelace. The lines written by Lord Capel in the Tower were merely a paraphrase of this favourite ballad.
[5] Carter p. 225.
[6] *Ib.* p. 230.
[7] "7 o'clock at night was the appointed time." Heath's *Chronicle* 1663), p. 326.
[8] See Kentish Petition (Sec. III). "That according to the fundamental Constitution of this Common-Wealth, we may for the future be governed and judged by (the English subject's undoubted birth-right) *the known and established laws of the kingdom*, and not otherwise." Compare Lord Capel's reply to Fairfax who held his boy as a hostage:—"He joyed to see any of his, if in no other way, yet by his sufferings, to pay the duty they owe to the King and to *the known laws of the kingdom*." See also Declaration of Grand Jury and Freeholders of Essex (Sec. III.) "That we will employ our utmost endeavours to preserve and defend our Royal King Charles, his Kingly Government and the subjects' liberty. That is to say, the common and statute laws, and will never submit to any Arbitrary Power whatsoever."

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Sir Charles Lucas "was the first to suffer," and we cannot doubt that in that brief moment his past life must have risen up before him, from the time when, as a boy, he had climbed about the Castle or played around his father's stately Manor House,—now a charred ruin,—to the days when he had stormed the walls of Breda, or charged for the King with his Cavalry.

E ripenso le mobili
Tende, e i percossi valli,
E'l campo dei manipoli,
E l'onda dei cavalli.

No mere carpet knight was the dauntless Sir Charles Lucas. While others were toying with lutes and lovelocks, his warrior's ardour was roused to scorn, and he turned to seek a sterner life in lands beyond the sea.[1] A brilliant and successful leader of horse,[2] "a soldier of reputation and of valour,"[3] "he was very brave in his person, and in a day of battle a gallant man to look upon and follow."[4] His very failings were those of a soldier. "He was of a rough and proud nature, a nature not to be lived with."[5] And as he had been in life, such was he also in his death.

Es befehden sich im Grimme
Die Begierden wild und roh
Und der Eris rauhe Stimme
Waltet, wo die charis floh.

"I have often," exclaimed the fearless Knight, "looked death in the face on the field of battle, and you shall now see I dare die."[6] With breast bared and head erect, he stood, a solitary figure, his face turned to his enemies. Behind him rose the Castle wall, glowing in the light of the setting sun. And then, for the last time, those stern lips were opened, and loud and clear upon the stillness there rang the word of command: —"See, I am ready for you! Now, Rebels, shoot!" Pierced by four bullets, "he fell down dead."[7]

A faithful follower closed his eyes, and saved the life of

[1] Duchess of Newcastle's *True Relation*.

[2] "That eminent Cavalier," Rushworth (Fairfax's Secretary). "Being without any partiality of affection declared by those that knew them, one of them the best for horse service and the other for infantry that ever commanded in that quality in the King's armies." Heath's *Chronicle* (1663) p. 326.

[3] Sprigge (Fairfax's Chaplain) *Anglia Rediviva*.

[4] Clarendon's *History*.

[5] *Ib*.

[6] Carter p. 231.

[7] Ib. p. 232. His helmet and sword are still carefully preserved within a few yards of the scene of his death.

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many a Royalist by committing his papers to the flames.[1]

Sir George Lisle was the next victim, and was hurried forward to the fatal wall. But, "on viewing the body of his dead friend, which then lay bleeding on the ground," the brave but gentle officer[2] "kneeled down and kissed him." Then rising and facing his foes, he uttered his dying protest, "Oh, how many of your lives who are now present here, have I saved in hot blood, and must now, myself, be most barbarously murdered in cold!" And now the setting sun had passed below the western hills, and already the haze of evening was creeping swiftly up the valley. Sir George, who had bestowed in his courtesy a small gift on his executioners, "desired them to come nearer towards him, thinking they stood at too great distance to do their work compleatly." "I'll warrant ye, Sir, we'll hit you," exclaimed an eager private. "Friend," was the gentle reply, "I have been nearer you when you have missed me."[3] But the line of his figure was yet clear upon the wall, and the veterans of Fairfax took sure aim. He fell, like his fellow-sufferer, dead at the first volley.

Sir Bernard Gascoyne had stripped off his doublet, and was stepping forward to meet his fate, when a reprieve unexpectedly arrived for him,[4] some misgivings having arisen among the Council of War.[5] He was led back to his fellow-prisoners, and darkness closed upon the scene.

Thus the Castle stood forth once more for a brief moment on the page of history, and then relapsed into a mere County Jail. It was just five years after the Knights had been imprisoned in its dungeons, when it was suddenly called upon to receive some equally unwonted visitors. On the 21st July 1653, a despatch from Major Benne, Governor of Harwich, was read at the Council of State.[6]

"The Phœnix has come in with a Dutch man-of-war, which she took off the Holland Coast, with 70 men and six guns. She had sunk or burnt a collier, and could give no good account of the men. As I think these different from ordinary prisoners, I have secured most of the crew, and will send them under guard to Colchester Castle."

[1] Petition of Capt. Hiches, of Deptford 1660 (State Papers, Domestic). He was offered bribes for the papers, but refused to give them up.

[2] "But then to his fierceness of courage, he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable." Clarendon.

[3] Carter p. 234. Sir George was noted for his conspicuous gallantry, and had displayed it repeatedly during the siege.

[4] *Letter from an Officer of the Army*, p. 3.

[5] Carter p. 236.

[6] State Papers: Domestic.

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A few days later a warrant was despatched "to the keeper of Colchester Castle to receive and keep the prisoners lately taken at sea in safe custody till further orders."[1] Not only was his protest disregarded, but fresh prisoners continued to arrive,[2] the hapless fruits of the crushing victories gained by the English fleet.[3]

Two years later, and prisoners of war were succeeded in the Castle by an apostle of peace. As if by the strange irony of history, that same building, which, a century before, had witnessed the sufferings of the victims of Rome was now to witness, in more enlightened days, the sufferings of a victim of Dissent.

It is a well-known law that in all revolutions the violent minority reaps the fruits, and snatches from the majority the direction of affairs.[4] Thus it was that Cromwell and his Independants, though an avowed minority of the nation, clambered into power over the shoulders of the Moderates at the close of the Great Rebellion. These men, the true Puritans, had loudly demanded Liberty of Conscience, when a scattered and unpopular sect. They overthrew, in the name of this sacred principle, first the King and then the Parliament, and when their triumph was assured they asserted their liberty—*to oppress the consciences of others*. Papist and Presbyterian, Churchman[5] and Baptist, suffered alike from their cruel bigotry, and the eagerness with which the country welcomed the Restoration was the most eloquent tribute to their tyranny. It was to avert the domination of this hated sect that the people rose in the year '48, to hurl themselves in vain against Cromweli's Ironsides, and it was in this cause that Lucas and Lisle had laid down gallantly their lives.

But it was against the unhappy Quakers,[6] most peaceable

[1] *Ib.* 26 July.

[2] Ib. 22 Sep. 300 Dutch prisoners ordered to Colchester.

[3] Twelve years later, after the Duke of York's Victory at Lowestoft, more than 2000 Dutch were brought prisoners to Colchester. *Historian's Guide*, p. 52.

[4] As the Jacobins from the Girondins in 1793, the Communists from the Republicans in 1870, the Radicals from the Liberals in 1880.

[5] "In the Commonwealth—a time of supposed great religious freedom—sufficient entries are found of the persecution of Episcopalians to believe that Macaulay was not exaggerating when he said 'It was a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians.'" Report on County Records of Essex, presented 4 Ap. 1882.

[6] "The nickname of *Quakers*, which the Independants had first given to the professors of the light." Sewel (4th Ed.) I. 168.

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and blameless of Christians, that the zeal of the Saints raged most fiercely. Happily for England their rule was brief, but in the six years[1] of their greatest power "*two thousand* persons, for being Quakers, had suffered in their body and their goods!"[2] No history of the Castle would be complete which failed to tell how one of these victims was done to death within its gloomy walls.

To understand the touching narrative which follows we must remember that the Church of England Clergy had been expelled, their very worship prohibited, and their livings handed over to the "sectaries." Here then is the story of James Parnel, which deserves to be dwelt upon, not only for its interest, but also for its unique description of the Castle as it there stood.[3]

"In the beginning of this year (1655) he came into Essex, being then about eighteen years of age and many received the word by his Ministry. About the middle of the Summer he came to Colchester, and there preached the Gospel exhorting and disputing to the convincing of many, though others were enraged, insomuch that his godly zeal was often rewarded with blows; as once coming out of Nicholas steeple-house,[4] he was struck by one with a great staff, who said "There, take that for Christ's sake," to which he meekly answered, "Friend, I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake" Having laboured in the Gospel about ten days in Colchester, he went to Coggeshall and being come thither, went into the steeple house,[5] where he stood still till the priest was coming out of the pulpit. Now since this priest Sammes, *who was an Independant*, had cried out fiercely against the Quakers, as deceivers, J. Parnel esteemed it his duty to say something Then priest Willis stood up and said he spoke nothing but nonsense. Parnel bade him name one word which he had spoken that was nonsense The priest now was at a loss, and Parnel told him that he blasphemed in saying the Church in God was nonsense At last he was committed to the common gaol at Colchester, where none of his friends were suffered to come to him. The time of the Sessions at Chelmsford being come, he with several felons and murderers, was fastened to a chain, and thus led about eighteen miles through the country, remaining chained both night and day. Then a jury of twelve men was called, whose foreman was a drunkard; Priest Willis was also called, who swore against him . . .

[1] 1653—1659.

[2] Paper presented to Parliament 1659 (Sewel I. 346).

[3] Sewel's *History of the Quakers* (4th Ed.) I. 182—187. Sewel himself came of a Brownist (*i.e.*, Independant) family.

[4] St. Nicholas Church. Compare the case of Nicholas Beard, another Quaker, who in 1659, "was much abused, and hauled outof St. Nicholas' Church, Brighton, by the hair of his head."

[5] The fine church of Great Coggeshall, then in the hands of the Independants. John Owen, who had been made its 'Rector' by the Parliament, was a violent Independant and Cromwellian. He preached before Fairfax at the Siege of Colchester, and before the Rump at the execution of Charles I.

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Thereupon J. Parnel was carried back again to the prison, being an old ruinous Castle, built, as it is reported, in the time of the Ancient Romans; here[1] . . . he was forced to lie on the cold damp stones. Afterwards he was put into the hole in the wall,[2] a room much like a baker's oven, for the walls of that building (which is indeed a direful nest) are of an excessive thickness, as I have seen myself, having been in the hole where this pious young man ended his days. Being confined in the said hole, which was as I remember about twelve foot high from the ground, and the ladder too short by six foot, he must climb up and down by a rope on a broken wall . . . for though his friends would have given him a cord and a basket to draw up his victuals in, yet such was the malice of his keepers that they would not suffer it. Continuing in this moist hole, his limbs grew benumbed; and thus it once happened that as he was climbing up the ladder with his victuals in one hand catching at the rope with the other, he missed the same and fell down upon the stones, whereby he was exceedingly wounded in his head, and his body so bruised that he was taken up for dead. Then they put him into a hole underneath the other; for there were two rows of such vaulted holes in the wall. This hole was called the Oven[3] Here (the door being shut) was scarcely any air, there being no window or hole. And they would not suffer him to take the air, though he was almost spent for want of breath nay, so immoveable were they set against him, that when it was desired that he might only walk a little sometimes in the yard, they would not grant it by any means: and once, the door of the hole being open, and he coming forth, and walking in a narrow yard between two high walls,[4] so incensed the gaoler that he locked up the hole, and shut him out in the yard all night, being in the coldest time of the winter. This hard imprisonment did so weaken him, that after ten or eleven months[5] he fell sick and died. At his departure there were with him Thomas Shortland and Ann Langley. Several things which are related here I had from the mouth of eye witnesses, who lived in that town. When death approached he said, "Here I die innocently." A little after he was heard to say, "Now I must go don't hold me, but let me go." Then he said again, "Will you hold me." To which Ann answered, "No, dear heart, we will not hold thee." He had often said that one hour's sleep would cure him of all; and the last words he was heard to say were "Now I go," and then stretching out himself he slept about one hour, and so breathed his last. Thus this valiant soldier of the Lamb conquered through sufferings."

So closes the history of the Royal Castle of Colchester, "a Castle sometyme stronge and statelye, as the ruynes thereof do shewe." Peaceful now are the ancient walls where the ivy

[1] The narrative is too long to be inserted in full.

[2] In the N.W. Tower (see chap. IV).

[3] This is clumsily expressed. The "Oven," in which Parnel died, was (as stated by Strutt, 1803) the great Niche just beyond the entrance to the staircase.

[4] This mention of a "yard" shews that it was open then as now.

[5] In the summer of 1656 (just when Evelyn visited the town and found it "swarming with sectaries.")

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twines and the owl nestles, for

"Fallen at length
Is that Tower of strength
Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew."

Fallen indeed is that mighty donjon, on which our forefathers learned to gaze "with a peculiar kind of horror," that donjon which for six centuries, was among "the dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty," "filled," as the Chronicler cried, "with devils and evil men," from the day when it was wrought by English hands, toiling for Norman task-masters, to the day when the "soldier of the Lamb conquered" at length "through sufferings," and the spirit of a martyred evangelist was freed by the Angel of Death.

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IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CASTLE.

WITHOUT entering into a disquisition on Mediæval Military Architecture, it may briefly be stated that to every Norman fortress two component portions were essential. These were the Keep (*turris*) and the Fortifications (*castrum* or *castellum*). In most cases these two portions were merged in the one term "Castle," which comprehended them both. But where, as at London and Colchester, the Keep was of exceptional dimensions, the two preserved for a time their separate existence, and were named separately in grants.[1] This, however, could not continue, and accordingly we find one of the names obtaining the upper hand—in London, the "Tower," at Colchester, the "Castle." We thus see that to term the existing building the "Castle" is, strictly speaking, incorrect, as it is, in reality, only one portion of the "Castle," namely, the Keep.[2] The other portion, consisting of the surrounding walls, has entirely disappeared.[3]

In attempting to re-construct the original "Castle" in its entirety, we have but slender evidence as soon as we leave the Keep. This, as might be expected, is frequently the case, the Keep, though the earliest, being by far the most substantial feature of these strongholds, and the outlying defences being

[1] Just as Colchester Castle was termed "Turris et Castellum" in the grant to Eudo (1091) so it is termed "castrum et turris" throughout the confirmation to the Earl of Oxford (1509) *Rymer* xiii. 251. Mr. Jenkins incorrectly states (p. 40) "the building here (*i.e.*, in Eudo's grant) *for the first and last time* called a Tower." The use of the double term so late as 1509 must be due to a repetition of the actual words found in Maud's charter (cartam *nobis ostensam*).

[2] See Bruce on "the structure of the Norman Fortress" (*Journ. Arch. Ass.* vi. 209). "The Norman Castle did not consist of a single building, such as in modern times we often understand by the term, but of a *series* of fortified erections. The Keep, which we now frequently designate the Castle, was but a part of the stronghold."

[3] I cannot believe that Mr. Parker was correctly reported as having asserted, at the Colchester meeting, "The Castle was not, as was supposed a Keep, but a large Norman Fortress." If the present "Castle" is *not* a Keep, it is an anomalous building, unheard of and inexplicable.

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more exposed to the encroachments of after ages. But at Colchester the destruction is so complete that only an expert could retrace the lost *enceinte*. Unfortunately we have not the advantage of the invaluable judgment of Mr. Clark, as this Castle, strange as it may seem, would appear to be one of the few which he has not examined.[1] I think, however, that by a careful study of the site, and by a comparison with similar instances, we may arrive at some definite conclusions in thorough accordance with Mr. Clark's theories.

There are two points which it is important to bear in mind, one, that these fortresses did not, like Minerva, spring fully-equipped into existence, but gradually expanded into their final form; the other, that the character of that form was liable to infinite variation, being dictated not by abstract theory but by the needs and the advantages of the site selected. When the Normans found themselves masters of Colchester, they as usual hastened to erect a fortress, and, with their cuckoo-like partiality for the nests of others, pitched, as was their wont, on the site which they found ready fortified.[2] This site, like several others selected for the Castles of the Conqueror,[3] was surrounded on three sides by mighty earthworks, raised, beyond a shadow of doubt, by the Romans, or, more strictly, by British hands directed by Roman taskmasters.[4] That these banks were purely Roman would be tolerably certain from their lines, but that certainty is rendered absolute by the remains which have been found beneath them. The remarkable pavement of

[1] See instances of this below.

[2] This disposes of Mr. Buckler's objection to the *site* (p. 1). Nor is there any ground for his assertion that the Normans raised mounds for their keeps. They seem, indeed, to have so rarely, if ever.

[3] See *Norman Conquest* iii. 543 for similar sites at Wallingford and Dorchester, and Mr. Clark (*Arch. Journ.* xxiv. 104) for Leicester, Tamworth, Wareham, Cardiff ("where the banks are no doubt Roman") and Wallingford ("with banks that must be Roman"). One side was not unusually open. Thus Freeman, "The Briton, after the model of his Roman masters, had on three sides fenced in his place of shelter." So too Clark (*Arch. Journ.* xxiv. 331), "At Cardiff where the large rectangular enclosure is contained on three sides within high banks."

[4] For Roman earthworks see Mr. Parker's letter on Early Rome (*Antiquary* Vol. I. p. 92), "The enormous fossæ called by Festus the *Fossæ Quiritium*, can be distinctly traced, for . . . they are on such a gigantic scale that they have long been mistaken for natural valleys. They were at least as wide and as deep as the fosse of Servius Tullius, and that was 100 feet wide and 30 feet deep . . . The great *agger* just within this fosse is a bank of earth 50 feet high, &c." We are reminded of the dimensions of this *Agger* by the stupendous rampart in the grounds of the Holly Trees. (The Roman ditch and rampart outside the town-walls were together 130 feet wide).

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blue lias which underlies the Northern rampart is probably unique in England.[1] Whether it is a relic of the first and unfortified Colony (perhaps the terrace of its Claudian Temple), buried in the subsequent and more cautious times beneath this great defensive earthwork, we cannot now tell, but it would seem not improbable. Within this space may have stood the *prætorium*, the central building of the settlement, in the latter days of Roman rule. Why its northern and eastern sides received such disproportionate protection it would be hard to say, unless some strong buildings were a shield to its uncovered flanks.[2] Now observe the admirable skill with which the Normans adapted it to their purpose. By placing their quadrangular keep in the gorge (to use a military term) of the enclosed space, they used the building itself to fill the gap and complete the line of defence.[3] The next step was to strengthen the ramparts with wooden[4] palisades. Thus they had already secured an elementary "base-court" or "ward." This would be the "castellum"[5] mentioned in the grants to Eudo (1091) and Alberic, and alluded to by Speed in 1606.

[1] This remarkable pavement was discovered by the Rev. James Round in his second excavation 1845 (not 1852-3, as stated in Ordnance Map.) It is described in two communications to the Arch. Association (*Brit. Arch. Journ.* Vol. i. p. 53, and Vol. ii., p. 36) by Mr. Roach Smith, who says of the Castle—"That it stands on the site of a Roman building or buildings of considerable importance is very probable from the remains recently discovered in the garden of Mr. Round." A wall of ancient masonry was also found, lining the pavement. The slabs of the latter were covered with the wreck of Roman dwellings. Some have supposed that it was once a crypto-porticus (*i.e.*, a covered gallery in which to walk).

[2] The remains of the great Western rampart are apt to be unnoticed (except on the Map), though conspicuous to an observer approaching from the North-west. But it was never so strong as the other two, and had eventually to be fortified with a wall. It was planted with trees by Mr. Gray in the last century, like the others. Those who have not the large scale ordnance map will see the three-sided rampart even more plainly in Mr. Jenkins' Plan of Colchester (Plate III.), republished in Mr. Buckler's book.

[3] "The Norman keep was . . . often very near to the enceinte and sometimes forming a part of it." Clark (*Arch. Journ.* xxiv. 327). It was on this principle that the Lord of Arques had placed his famous donjon on the neck of his walled peninsula.

[4] See p. 44. Mr. Clark (xxiv. 331) considers that masonry was rarely erected on the earthworks. Jean de Colmieu, Archdeacon of Terouane in the 11th Cent., describes the means employed,—"supremam ejusdem aggeris crepidinem *vallo ex lignis tabulis firmissime compacto*, undique vice muri circummunire." Bouquet xiv. p. 388. So too Caumont, (*Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales* v. 73).

[5] The meaning of *castellum* should be carefully noticed.

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"Within the town of Colchester," says he, "towards the East, is situated an old Castle . . . *upon a trench containing two acres of ground*, where as yet may be seen the provident care they took against all ensuing assaults." But observe further how ingeniously this plan was carried out. The south wall of the Keep formed part of the line of defence. It was thus the portion most exposed to attack, and indeed, as we learn from Mr. Buckler,[1] has been actually the most attacked. Consequently, as we might expect, the whole south side was made disproportionately strong,[2] including the Tower on the south-west and the "Apse" on the south-east. Here we have the natural and simple explanation of the ground plan of the Castle, with its great block of masonry massed along the southern wall.[3] But there is yet another point to be noticed in the skilful design. The south side being the most exposed, the *only original entrance* to the Castle[4] was accordingly placed on the north, and could only be approached from the enclosure. Such then was Colchester Castle as it stood in its earliest days.

"The keep or shell completed," says Mr. Clark[5] (in his description of Norman Castles), "and a place of security in the event of an attack thus provided, the next step was the *enceinte* wall, but this, not being of such pressing necessity, was sometimes postponed for half a century or more, during which time the garrison must have trusted to ditch, bank and palisade, the

[1] According to Mr. Buckler's independent observations, "the South front appears to have suffered more than the others from military assaults" (p. 25).

[2] I appeal again to Mr. Buckler's observations,—"This front is remarkable for the original fewness of its windows." p. 24. Compare Caumont (v. 202) "Ces ouvertures étaient pour la plupart percées du côté où la forteresse avait le moins à redouter les attaques."

[3] This explanation will solve some of the difficulties raised by Mr. Buckler. "The two towers on the south front," he says (p. 12), "were originally compact masses of building throughout their height designed to act as abutments, and their position shows that they were calculated to resist lateral pressure," and again (p. 20), "the southern portion of the Castle is vaulted in two chambers; these are remarkable for their massive construction; the main walls are 16 feet thick, and none less than 10 feet." The solidity of this portion is fully accounted for by my hypothesis, and will in turn (when I have shown that its original height was much greater) account for the strength of the supporting towers on its exterior and at its extremities. On the other hand this abnormal strength of the southern side would have been unmeaning in a Temple of Claudius, to which the approach (as Mr. Jenkins assures us) was "suited for a *peaceful* procession" (*Temple of Claudius* p. 54).

[4] See below.

[5] *Arch. Jour.* XXIV. 331.

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keep of masonry being their final security." Now in the case of Colchester Castle we are able to trace the development, and it corresponds exactly with the above description. Mr. Clark tells us that "in almost all the Norman keeps," a new entrance was made, at an early period, on the ground floor (the original entrance becoming as it were a window),[1] and this change, he ingeniously suggests, may have taken place "when the addition of strong exterior walls gave sufficient security to the Keep." Compare with this Mr. Parker's opinion[2] that the great Gateway is "half a century later" than the rest of the Castle (it would be rather more if my date for the erection be right), and we at once get the date of the change, and consequently of the addition of an *enceinte* wall, the building of which had thus, as in Mr. Clark's theory, been "postponed for half-a-century or more." This wall, thus erected about 1140-50, was produced from the extremity of the eastern rampart, trending away to join the extremity of the western, and thus completing the enclosure and covering the new gateway. All traces of it have now been lost,[3] but its existence is conclusively established by the concurrent testimony of the town-map of 1610, the survey of 1622 (among the Round Papers),[4] and the siege-map of 1648. These independent authorities all agree in giving a portion of this wall as still standing. It was the portion which covered the south-east angle of the keep, and it included the archway of the entrance to the "inner ward." The 1610 map is specially valuable as giving the mural towers of the curtain.[5] It is probable that this wall was at the same time continued along the western rampart, where its foundations can be plainly seen. Thus we arrive at the second phase of the Castle, when the keep stood within a ward curtained by earthworks on the North and East, by a fortified wall on the South, and by a rampart crowned with a wall on the West.[6]

[1] See also below, and Caumont v. 160

[2] *Essex Standard*, 11th Aug., 1876.

[3] It was to this wall that Speed referred (1606) when he spoke of an old Castle and *older ruins*," illustrating by his mistake, Mr. Clark's remark (XXIV. 109). "These keeps are usually standing when all else is in ruin, and thus they appear of later date than the less substantial additions of the 14th or 15th centuries." Cf. Hasted, XI. 59.

[4] See Chap. VII.

[5] So round Canterbury Castle there was a "Wall, now much impaired with age, but sometimes set with divers watchtowers, four at least." (Battely's Somner 1703, I. 20.) It was finally removed in 1792. (Hasted's Kent, 1800, XI. 64).

[6] This was probably its phase during the stirring times of the Great Charter (see p. 39).

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The third and last phase was reached when a second line of wall was erected, which (according to Mr. Clark), would not take place till the reign of Henry III. or of Edward I. This outer wall, Morant informs us, skirted the High Street and St. Helen's Lane.[1] It would thus enclose the *outer* ward, as the former wall did the *inner*. Round it was drawn the Castle-Ditch so continually alluded to in the Town Records.[2] How far the defences extended on the North seems doubtful, but as the Sheepshead field is alternatively described as "the Nether Bailey" in the Terriers of the Castle Lands, it may once have formed a separate ward, stretching from the northern rampart down to the town wall (which is there high enough to be adapted for this purpose).[3] I have described, at this length, these surrounding lines, as the attempt seems never to have been made before.[4]

The visitor, as he approaches the Castle by the "Bailey entrance,"[5] will probably feel some disappointment, the side which meets his eye having been extensively modernised. Indeed, it would be worth his while to make a détour, and to approach the Castle on the North-West, from St. Helen's Lane and Chapel. The building will then burst upon him in all its rugged grandeur. But in either case he will do well, before hurrying to the great gateway, to perform the circuit of the keep. He will thus gain a general idea of the size and character of the fortress he is about to enter. The spacious "Bailey" which surrounds the walls is the freehold of the Proprietor of the Castle. It was believed by Morant, and indeed down to

[1] He states that the portion bounding the High Street was only pulled down about 1680, when Northfolk erected a row of houses on its site. But he is not quite correct in stating that the lines of the walls were those of the streets. The Castle wall must have been flush with the straight (Roman?) line of the original High Street. By permitting "squatters" to erect buildings *in front of* this wall (Town Rolls), the burgesses of Mediæval Colchester laid the foundations of the unsightly "bulge" on the North side of the High Street, between All Saints and St. Nicholas. So too, with the East side of St. Helen's Lane.

[2] "Two tenements opposite Castle-Ditch" (8 Rich. II.) "A vacant place opposite the Cemetery of All Saints, near the Castle-Ditch, containing in length 28½ yards" (1395). This is now the space between the Castle Inn Alley and Watts' stone-yard. Again, "vacant land in Maydenburg Street next Castle Dytch," &c., &c. According to Mr. Bruce (Journ. Arch. Ass. VI. 211), "except in situations where the ground was very precipitous, a ditch was drawn around the enclosure." There was a "Ditch del Bayle" at Canterbury.

[3] As at Canterbury Castle and elsewhere.

[4] Compare Bourne's description of Newcastle Castle (early Norman) "surrounded by strong walls, the interior one being at no great distance from the Castle itself. The exterior wall surrounds the verge of the Castle bounders."

[5] Now modernised into "Museum Street."

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1810, to be extra-parochial.[1] But in that year this belief was challenged, and the then owner (Charles Round Esq.) was pronounced to be rateable to All Saints Parish for the Bailey and the tenements thereon. Great improvements have been effected in it by the present Proprietor. A neat and massive wall has been constructed, parallel with the South front of the Castle, and terminating in a spacious entrance gate of a tasteful and appropriate character. The space enclosed by this wall and by a fence at right angles to it had been originally levelled for a bowling green in the days of James II, but had since degenerated into a cabbage-ground. On the completion of the wall the ground was laid out and carefully planted as a garden,[2] and the end of a range of stabling, which abutted on the Castle was removed at the same time, to afford a better view of the Apse. It was in the centre of this garden, many years ago, that there was found the gigantic Amphora now exhibited, by Mr. Round's permission, in a niche of the Town Museum.[3]

Having now described the surroundings of the building, let us consider the Keep itself, the only relic of the Castle. Our notice is at once attracted by its gigantic size. It is important to realise the perplexing fact that Colchester "Castle" is *nearly double the size* of any Norman Keep in existence, not excepting even the Tower of London![4] Why Colchester should have been

[1] See Morant's Colchester, p. 10, where the arguments for its being extra-parochial appear very strong. He quotes London, Norwich, and Worcester, as cases in point (as are also Lewes, Canterbury, &c , &c.), and denies that any Castle can be found included in its parish. He also gives several instances in the 17th Century, of the municipal authorities being unable to exercise jurisdiction within the Bailey or "Liberty" of the Castle.

[2] At the sole expense of the Proprietor. A small Committee of the leading inhabitants undertook to pay a rent for the use of the garden, and to be responsible for the expense of its maintenance.

[3] This magnificent specimen is 51½ inches high, and 101 (8ft. 5in.) in circumference. It is almost unique in size, and as sound as a bell. The very spot in which it was discovered is marked on the Ordnance Survey. It formerly stood by itself in the Castle, before the town Museum was granted admission to the building.

[4] Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Buckler do not agree in the measurements. According to the former, the Castle is 168ft. × 126ft.=21,168ft. According to the latter's more sober and apparently correct estimate, it is 152½ft. × 111½ft.=17,005ft. Mr. Jenkins must have included the spreading basement. These are the sizes of the largest Keeps.

				AREA.
Colchester	168	×	126	21,168
	152½	×	111½	17,005
London (Tower)	116	×	96	11,136
Norwich	100	×	93	9,300
Canterbury	90	×	88	7,470
Dover				
Rochester	75	×	72	5,400

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honoured in this exceptional manner I do not profess to explain, and indeed so inexplicable does the fact appear, that Archæologists, as Mr. Buckler points out, have been inclined to slur it over.[1] But it is important to observe that Colchester Castle is merely a *magnified* Keep, and that its great size is not due to any extraneous additions to an originally smaller Keep. It is emphatically a building "at unity with itself," reproducing, though on a proportionately larger scale, the well-known details of the Norman tower. Three of its exterior features call for notice. (1) The battering plinth or platform on which the Keep is erected. This was selected by Mr. Jenkins as "manifestly Roman" (pp. 49, 63), and by Mr. Buckler as "raised . . . that the Temple might be exalted high above all surrounding objects" (p. 5).[2] Uuluckily the Keep at Canterbury also stands on "a battering plinth or base 10ft. high and of 4ft. projection at the ground level."[3] This platform[4] was a skilful device of the Norman masons to raise the hollow portion of the Keep out of reach of the miner and the ram.[5] (2) The Towers. These as Mr. Buckler points out, are certainly exceptional in size (possibly to atone for inferior materials) but are proportionate to so huge a Keep.[6] Mr. Clark compares them to those at Arques.[7] The N.E., N.W., and S.W. towers contain chambers, as was usual, above the ground floor. The two "towers" on the South front are merely developed buttresses. (3) The Buttresses. Of these there are five of nearly the same size, averaging 8$\frac{1}{3}$ft. in width and 15in. projection.[8] It is a striking coincidence that those at Canterbury are 8ft. wide and 14in. projection, also that Colchester and Canterbury both

[1] The Roman theorists are right to call attention to this remarkable size, —*sed quid ad Romam?* Must the Castle be a Roman building because it is a large one? Nay, the Tower, which they claim as Roman, does not exceed the provincial keeps by more than we should expect. Thus abnormal size can be no proof of Roman origin.

[2] See also 3rd section.

[3] *Arch. Journ.* XXXII. 494. Compare Conisborough, &c.

[4] It stood higher before the ground had risen.

[5] See pp. 84, 95. It is curious that the lighthouse perpetuates to this day, this feature of the Norman Keep.

[6] See p. 70.

[7] *Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 326. This of importance from the antiquity of Arques, "a fortress which is undoubtedly one of the earliest and most important in the history of Norman military architecture" &c., &c. *(Norm. Conq. III. 122—124)* Mr. Freeman assigns it to the minority of the Conqueror.

[8] "No buttresses like those of Colchester Castle are to be found among Norman Keeps." Mr. Buckler (p. 27)

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have one buttress on the north wall and two on the east. This illustrates the advantage of the comparative or deductive method in studying the Architecture of the Keep; it also proves its resemblance to a Fortress admittedly erected before the Domesday Survey.[1]

The next point is the *composition* of the structure. So deceptive to an unpractised eye is the character of its materials that we ought to examine both the tower of Trinity Church [2] and the ruins of St. Botolph's[3] before we pronounce an opinion. We shall then perceive that in both these cases (and, in a less degree, in several others),[4] Roman materials have been used, *more Romano*, to an extent sufficient to deceive any casual observer.[5] But if we widen our scope to include the sister city of St. Alban's (Verulamium) we find that there also has the architecture been affected by Roman materials,[6] so that as has been truly observed, Colchester Castle finds in St. Alban's Abbey its ecclesiastical counterpart. Thus we see that this

[1] This has of course been challenged. (*Arch. Journ.* XXXII. 493.) Indeed so incredulous are Archæologists that they would dispute, if they could, the antiquity of the Tower.

[2] "The one tower of Primitive Romanesque to be found in Colchester, which, while other towers of its type are of stone, reproduces in materials, as well as in form, the campaniles of Italy." Mr. Freeman. (*Arch. Journ.* XXXIV. 56.)

[3] "In the ruins of the Abbey Church of St. Botolph at Colchester, an Anglo-Norman edifice seemingly late in style, vast quantities of Roman bricks from pre-existing edifices are worked up." Mr. Bloxam (*Journ. Arch. Ass.* I. 315. But compare *Archælogia* IV. 87.) "Composed almost entirely of Roman Bricks or wall-tiles, with arches, columns and piers nearly resembling some Roman edifices." Britton *Arch. Ant.* I. 2. "Built out of the ruins of some neighbouring Roman edifice with the same kind of materials and much in the same style." Carter's *Arch. of Eng.* I. 17. St. Botolph's was built within 20 or 30 years of the Castle, and by masons of the same "Roman" school. Hence it illustrates its style. (See also p. 26).

[4] Thus Mr. Parker detected, in the wall of St. John's Garden, a tile of the early Roman period. St. Martin's tower has also much Roman material. Mr. Roach Smith says of it (*Arch. Journ.* II. 34), "The Architecture, as well as the materials, closely resembles pure Roman."

[5] See Mr. Freeman's Historical Address (*Arch. Journ.* XXXIV.) "It is at Colchester, as it is at Trier, as it is at Perigueux, as it is at a crowd of other places where the influence of Roman models had struck deep. In places of this kind the Roman construction lived on for ages." The important point to grasp is that, in towns like Colchester and St. Alban's, the general "Roman" features of old English Architecture were intensified by the inexhaustible store of Roman *matériel*, perpetuating the tradition of the Roman style.

[6] "The materials were collected, M. Paris informs us, by a former Abbot from the ruins of the old Roman city, and they were almost indispensable, as the district in which it is situated affords little or no stone fit for building purposes." Mr. Bloxam (*Journ. Arch. Ass.* I, 315).

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Castle does not stand alone in its materials or in its structure, but that in both in these respects it is what we might from analogy expect such a building to be, erected at such a place as Colchester, and erected in the 11th Century, when the as yet abundant supply of old materials favoured this peculiar style.[1] Besides which, it must be remembered, the Roman and the Norman built, in the East of England, under the same conditions, namely, the absence of stone,[2] and the consequent necessity of providing a substitute. Thus they would be driven in any case to employ similar materials. But the early Normans, to whom every hour was of importance, would obviously not go in search of such materials, so long as they could gratify their favourite instinct by appropriating where they could do so, what their predecessors had left. Thus the resemblance, such as it is, between Norman work and Roman is accounted for (1) by the necessary employment of similar materials, (2) by the adapation of existing Roman materials, (3) by the local traditions of Roman architecture.

The materials actually used in the construction of the Castle are three, (1) hard stone, (2) cement stone, (3) tiles. The *hard stone* is declared by Mr. Buckler to be "the shelly oolite lime-stone of Portland, which the Romans obtained in large quantities, and used extensively" (p. 8).[3] Mr. Jenkins sub-divided it into two varieties, "the corn-brash and the finer grained," and also professed to detect some Kentish Rag. It will be observed that Mr. Buckler's assertion that the hard stone is *Roman* admirably explains its sparing use in the Castle walls.[4] For it is clear that the builders had but a limited supply at their disposal, not calculated for so large a building, and had therefore to eke it out with other materials. Now this would exactly coincide with the hypothesis that the only hard stone at their disposal was that remaining in the ruins of some Roman building or buildings,[5] especially as Mr. Buckler

[1] Trinity Church Tower dates from this century.

[2] This want of stone accounts at once for the absence (with one recent exception) of Roman altars at Colchester, and for the presence of such a noble specimen of Architecture in brick as Layer Marney Tower.

[3] The Colchester Sphinx is said to be of Portland stone, but the lime stone of Barnack resembles it sufficiently to have been perhaps used in the Castle.

[4] This is specially marked in the quoins of the Towers. Notice how they used the hard stone as far up as it lasted, and then fell back on tiles. The effect is so bad that dire necessity must have compelled it.

[5] This hypothesis is strikingly confirmed by the recent discovery of the Saxon Church of Escombe, which is "entirely of Saxon date." In this church "All the walls are built of squared stones brought from the

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assures us that the early Normans were not in a position to obtain any of this hard stone from extraneous sources (p. 8). When we also consider, as he reminds us, that "the Normans resorted to the nearest Roman station or villa[1] for building materials when the locality failed to furnish them," we shall at once see that we have here a consistent explanation, and that Mr. Buckler's statements afford strong evidence of the Normans having built the Castle.

The "Septaria" or *Cement stone* consist of lumps of concreted London clay, "the concretion being laminated concentrically."[2] They came from the cliffs about Harwich, and were used in two fashions, (1) fitted closely together, in their natural condition, to form the interior of walls, as in the body of the town walls, and those of the Castle; (2) cut and squared, and laid in horizontal courses to act as the facing stones of the wall.[3] They form the chief ingredient in the Castle masonry. They are now called "cement stone" because "Roman cement" is made from them, but those used for this purpose are dredged up off the Essex Coast, whereas those used for building had to be taken direct from the cliffs before they were spoilt by submersion. Mr. Buckler's argument (p. 23) that such "a well

Roman station at Binchester (Vinovium), and the name of the 6th cohort has been met with, built up among the walling." So too at North Gosforth Church, "the walls are constructed entirely of stones from some Roman building," and again the crypt of S. Wilfrid's Cathedral, Hexham, is "an interesting example of Saxon architecture, built wholly of Roman stones" (see p. 26). To Mr. Jenkins' objection that "the (hard) stones of the plinth are not of reconstructed materials, but of native stone, placed as it was primarily wrought," Mr. Cutts replied that such careful workmen as the Normans would certainly reface the stones, and produce the same effect. The above instances illustrate this point.

[1] Westminster Abbey is now proved to have been built among the ruins of a Roman villa.

[2] Dr. Duncan *(Walls of Colchester)*. He adds "there is a disposition in the mass to split in the direction of its laminæ and at right angles to these; but by careful cutting a most durable face may be established." Those at Colchester are mostly 5 or 6 ins. high, and vary from 6 to 20 ins. in length, the varying length depending on the skill of the workman who cut them. See also Smith's *Antiquities of Richborough*, p. 191.

[3] A good parallel is found in Caumont (v. 163). "Les murs du donjon de Beaugency" (11th Century) "n'ont pas moins de 11 pieds d'épaisseur vers le bas; ils sont formés de pierres inégales noyées dans le mortier; le revêtemement est en pierres de taille généralement plus larges que hautes, et de diverses dimensions, ... les premières assises sont formées comme celles des murs de construction romaine avec des blocs considérables posés les uns sur les autres."

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executed specimen of Ashlar[1] . . . would only be obtained by using newly squared septaria" is obviously met by the reply that the Normans had the alternative of fresh squaring the old septaria or obtaining as many new ones as they required from Harwich, the latter facility affording also the reason why the septaria did not run short like the hard stone.

The *tiles* which enter into the composition of the Castle have given rise to much discussion. "The (Roman) *tiles*," says Dr. Duncan,[2] "for they ought to be called so, inasmuch as *they have no resemblance to modern bricks*, are of various lengths, breadths, and thicknesses; the properties of hardness, denseness, lack of porosity, and great specific gravity are common to all." It was long believed that all the tiles in Colchester were Roman. Mr. Essex, however, in the last century,[3] originated the theory that the art of making them had, in some places, survived till Norman times.[4] This he illustrated by the cases of St. Alban's and St. Botolph's, where, he maintained, the tiles had mostly been made on purpose. In the Castle also he believed them to be mixed. This suggestion was improved upon in 1846, by Mr. Roach Smith, who appears to have doubted whether any of them were Roman.[5] This theory was upheld by Mr. Wright at the 1864 meeting, but was opposed by Mr. Hartshorne, who solved the difficulty by pronouncing them to be *mixed*. This view, which is clearly the right one, was fully confirmed by Mr. Parker in 1876.[6] He also called attention to the interesting fact that the date of a Roman tile can be guessed at from its

[1] Mr. Buckler's remark—"On comparing the workmanship of the two, it is evident that more labour and care were bestowed in adjusting the materials as they are arranged in the Castle than in the Town Walls," well illustrates Mr. Cutts' observation—"Norman ashlar work is perhaps the most perfect that has ever been constructed."

[2] *Walls of Colchester*. p. 18.

[3] Archæologia IV. 88, "On the art of brickmaking."

[4] Cf. p. 12. So also Mr. Roach Smith:—"The manufacture of these tiles must have been carried on very extensively for many centuries after the departure of the Romans."

[5] *Brit. Arch. Journal*, No. 5. Mr. Smith asserted that not only were the Norman tiles less firm and compact than the Roman, and of a deeper and duller colour, but that the mortar adhering to them was an even stronger test. But, as undoubted Roman mortar can be seen adhering to some of those in the Castle, his test must prove their Roman origin.

[6] "The bricks that were made for the purpose, which were comparatively few, were evidently made in a hurry, as evidenced by the fact that they had in the centre a black line, which showed that they had not been thoroughly baked. Some said that the bricks were not Roman at all, but one brick he pointed out was evidently of the 4th Century, undeniably Roman" (*Essex Standard* 11 Aug. 1876). Of course, for "brick" we must read "tile" throughout.

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thickness.[1] Those in the town walls are $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. The one which he noticed in the Castle was as late as the 4th Century.[2] There only remains the mortar and the stucco. With the exception of the mortar adhering to the Roman tiles, and often inseparable from them, the mortar in the keep is Norman, though influenced, like the Architecture, by the Roman traditions of the locality.[3] The important parallel of St. Botolph's has been overlooked.

"The whole of the front was plastered with mortar or stucco *after the Roman manner*. In the foundation of the North Tower the mortar is made of pounded brick and lime, *such as the Romans used*, and such as is found in the internal parts of the Town wall" (Britton. *Arch. Ant.* I. 4).

This allusion to the stucco at St. Botolph's, should be compared with Mr. Buckler's description (p. 38) of that which has been traced on a wall to the keep, and with Mr. Essex's conclusive statement,—

"Churches and other buildings, which were built in this manner, were always plastered on the inside, and frequently on the outside, with a composition of lime and sand, the remains of which may be traced in many Saxon and Norman Churches, and in some more modern: and in those which were built in the eleventh century with wall-tiles, after the Roman manner, the walls, pillars, and arches were finished within and without with the same kind of plastering or stucco; as may be seen in the ancient parts of the Abbey Church of St. Albans." (*Archælogia* IV. 101.)

Having now discussed the size and the composition of the structure, let us enter the great gateway and survey the building from the interior. The present aspect of the remains is so misleading to the eye that it is essential to master the general plan before examining the details. The original design of the keep was as follows. The external measurement, $152\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $111\frac{1}{2}$ feet exclusive of all projections, (as Mr. Buckler correctly gives it,)[4] was reduced in the interior, by the thickness of the

[1] This thickness depended upon the length of the tedious drying process, during which the clay shrank from the original size, and gradually acquired the hardness, weight, and lack of porosity, which characterise the tiles. The best tiles, according to the authorities, took 5 years to make. (Duncan).

[2] The *bands* of tiles on which Mr. Buckler lays stress were common in mediæval buildings. See Caumont, Part III. pp. 45, 78, 86, 92. The bonding courses in the Castle are quite different from those of the Walls (always four deep). See also Mr. Cutts' Paper on Coggeshall Abbey. (*Ess. Arch. Coll.* I 167—8.)

[3] See also p. 26.

[4] Mr. Buckler, I believe, alone has given this measurement. That which is usually given (as by Mr. Clark, Mr. Jenkins, &c.) is 168 × 126, but this is the measurement not of the keep, but of its spreading foundations (taken at the ground-line).

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walls, to an area of 127 feet by 87 feet. But out of this area, on its southern side, there was taken a broad strip, some 40 feet in width, which was walled off from the rest.[1] The available space was thus brought down to some 87 feet from North to South and 87 feet from East to West. This area was traversed by a main wall, nine feet four inches thick, which divided it on the East and West into two nearly equal halves. The Eastern compartment was further sub-divided by a wall of less thickness into two spacious galleries, some fourteen feet and twenty feet wide respectively. The latter of these is what is now known as the East Court of the Castle. The former, together with the space which was covered by the central wall, has been thrown, by the destruction of that wall, into the so-called West Court. Thus the first thing needful on entering the interior of the keep is to realize that there was formerly a central wall between us and the existing one.[2] The next point to be remembered is that these open 'Courts' were not Courts at all,[3] but were the cellars and store-rooms of the Keep. They were in fact what we should now call the basement, the habitable portion of the fortress being restricted to the floors above them.

Lastly it should be noted that the soil within the Keep is a mere layer over the platform of masonry and has in all probability replaced a stout timber flooring.

And here it will be fitting that I should briefly describe the plan and construction of a Norman Keep. "Of all Mediæval military structures," says Mr. Clark,[4] "it is the earliest in date, the simplest in form, the grandest in outline and dimensions, and the most durable in workmanship." As with the modern town-house, a general idea is clearly traceable through all the Norman Keeps, though greatly modified in individual details. These structures being specially designed to meet a special want, it is obvious that in their *essential* features they must resemble one another, however much they may vary in particular disposition.[5] Now there is a complete agreement among the

[1] See p. 95.

[2] Its southern extremity is still plainly visible beneath the windows of the 'Piazza.'

[3] It is a pity that Mr. Parker appears in the Report of his remarks on the Castle (*Essex Standard*) as having stated that "there were two Court-yards, the one in which they were assembled, and a smaller one on the East of the building." The expression was a misleading one, but as he went on to state that "the hall, of which the fireplaces still remained, was above the great Court-yard," he clearly meant *not* a Court-yard, but a basement.

[4] *Arch. Journ.* Vol. XXIV. p. 319.

[5] Mr. Buckler raises this point on p. 9.

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Authorities on the subject that the Norman Keep was built in *four tiers*,[1] of which the lowest was always used for cellarage and storage,[2] the second for guardrooms and the general use of the garrison,[3] the third, which was the principal one, for the state apartments,[4] and the fourth or attic storey for a kind of fighting deck.[5] The other generic features, such as the entrance, &c., I reserve for further consideration.

First, then, as to the *Basement*. This portion of the Keep was at Colchester divided into three by the two partition walls. It answers exactly to Mr. Clark's description of the general type.[6] Notice, on this tier, the absence of fireplaces, and the small size of the loopholes.[7] The square cavities in the remaining partition wall are those in which rested the massive beams, nearly 2 ft. square, that supported the floor of the tier above.[8] Wooden pillars propped them up at intervals. The height of this tier is some 14 feet.

Next, as to the *first floor*, the quarters of the garrison. This, like the corresponding tier in other Norman keeps, was some 16 feet in height,[9] its ceiling being exactly level with the crowns of its tiled arches. This tier, like the basement, was divided into three apartments. Of these, the largest, or Western, chamber was of very magnificent proportions, being no less than 94 feet long by 39 feet wide. It could only be rivalled by

[1] "The Basement was 4 to 5 feet above the ground level and 8 to 12 feet high. The first floor was rather more. The second or main floor was in large castles 20 to 25 or even 30 feet high, and the third or upper floor about 12 to 15 feet." Mr. Clark (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 321.)

[2] Mr. King's *Observations on Ancient Castles* (1776). "Thus was the lower floor protected, which, both on account of its strength and darkness, was generally designed merely to hold the stores." Mr. Clark says, "The basement was a cellar and a place for garrison stores."

[3] "Here was the guard-chamber, and here the bulk of the garrison resided and lodged" (King). "The first floor was a guard-room." (Clark).

[4] "Above this storey were the state-rooms 32 feet high" (King). "The second floor (i. e. 3rd. tier) was occupied by the state apartments" . . . "In the Keep it (i. e. the Hall) occupied the second floor." (Clark) "The great hall in most Castles of importance occupies the 3rd storey." (Collingwood Bruce).

[5] "The upper floor seems to have been the armoury" (Clark).

[6] "The basement is sometimes dark, but more commonly lighted by narrow loops 8 to 12 feet from the ground outside, but within splayed and reached by stone steps from the recess." (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 320.

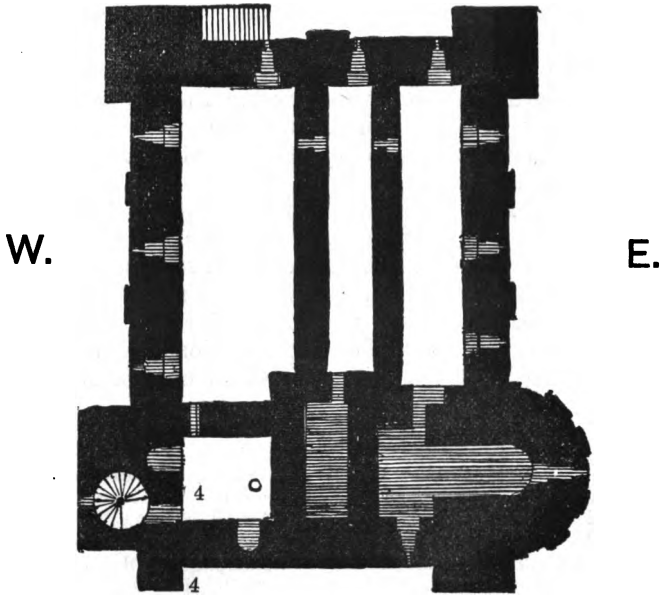
[7] "The openings increase in size to the main, usually the second floor" (*Ditto*). The difference is plainly marked at Colchester and should be specially noticed. (see p. 84.)

[8] "These floors rested upon whole baulks of oak, 12 to 14 inches square, for which the apertures remain." (Clark).

[9] At Canterbury it was 15 ft., at the Tower 16½ ft.

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the corresponding Western chamber in the White Tower, and even that was smaller, being 92 feet long by 37 feet wide.[1] Next to it was the Gallery,[2] 85 feet long by 16 feet wide, and then came the Eastern chamber, 88 feet long by 22 feet wide, which, though longer and narrower than its fellow in the Tower, has almost the same superficies.[3] The only communication



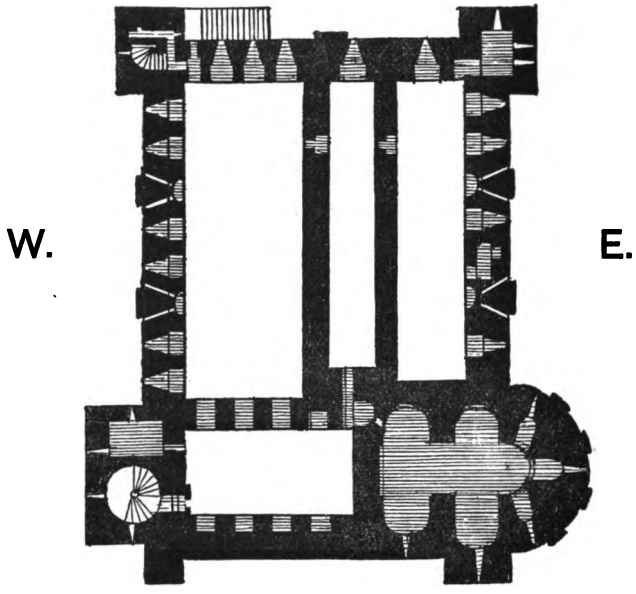
THE KEEP A.D. 1100.

GROUND FLOOR.[5]

[1] *Old London* 26. The windows are proportioned to the size, there being nine in the West Chamber at Colchester, and eight at the Tower.
[2] At its southern end there was seemingly a door leading to the Crypt and to the South chamber.
[3] 1936 square feet here, and 2040 in the White Tower *(Old London* p. 26*)*. This, of course, allows for the "set-off" at Colchester.
[4] Present gateway broken through (in 12th Cent.) at this point.
[5] The black portions are solid wall. Those in shade are vaulted.

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between these apartments, on the first floor as in the basement, was afforded by a small arched doorway, leading into the gallery from the Eastern chamber, and by another one, facing it, leading out of the gallery into the Western chamber. They corresponded precisely with those in the basement, and were placed about 16 feet from the Northern end of the walls.[1] The



THE KEEP A.D. 1100.

FIRST FLOOR.

[1] The fortunate preservation of the Eastern wall enables us to reconstruct the one destroyed, which formed the other side of the corridor. We learn from it that they did not contain (as was usual in Norman keeps) large open arches (possibly from the employment of unsuitable materials), but were pierced only by one doorway on each floor. If King's plan of Canterbury Castle (*Archæologia* IV. 392) can be relied on, its party-walls were pierced in precisely the same way by doorways, at one end, facing each other.

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fine fireplaces,[1] with their "herring-bone" backs (as at Corfe, the Tower, &c.) should be noticed, and also their *double* shafts, peculiar, it is said, to this Keep and to Rochester.[2] A careful observation of the "windows" on this tier will throw much light on the architecture of the Keep. They specially illustrate the great feature of these fortresses, their diminishing strength at each stage.[3] Thus, here, we have first, rising above the ground, the substructure solid as a rock throughout. Above that is the basement with its walls of vast strength, and its few and narrow loop-holes. Again above that is this first floor, with its walls thinner and comparatively honeycombed.[4] It was still indeed unsafe, even at this height, to begin the true windows. These, as was the rule in Norman keeps,[5] were reserved, as we shall see, for the floors above. It was however possible to increase the size, and still more the number, of the loops. The West chamber, which, below, has but four loops, has on this stage nine, besides the entrance. To admit of these more numerous openings they had to be made narrower on the inside,[6] and it is a remarkable coincidence that, both here and at Canterbury, they are some 7 ft. wide in the basement, and some 6 ft. on the first floor. Lastly, it should be noticed that on this stage, within as without the Keep,[7] the stone began to run short, and tiles were used far more freely in the "windows,"

It should be noticed that these doorways were smaller on the West side of the wall than on the East. The same is the case at the Tower, and in both instances the doors must have opened to the East. It will be seen that this was skilfully contrived to facilitate the defence of the inner compartments. For these divisions of the Keep (like those, in later days of the Ward), were designed to serve the same purpose as watertight bulk-heads in a ship.

[1] At Beaugency and other early keeps in Normandy, fireplaces flanked by windows, as at Colchester, are found on each floor (Caumont V. 162).

[2] *Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 325.

[3] See p. 74.

[4] See ground plan.

[5] See Caumont (V. 202) "le premier étage ne recevait presque jamais la lumière que par d'étroites ouvertures." So too, at the Tower (*Old London* p. 24), Rochester, Canterbury, Norwich, &c., (*Archæologia* IV. 374, 391, 396). This was to avoid the double danger of missiles and of escalade. Mr. Buckler's remark on the loops *in this tier* that "the upper windows of Norman keeps are frequently double or of good size" (p. 37, and 3rd sec. p. 11) betrays (as Mr. Cutts said of Mr. Jenkins) a "want of acquaintance with Norman fortresses," such "upper windows" being only found in the stages above it.

[6] A careful description of the windows in this Keep will be found in Mr. Buckler's book (p. 36), but he incorrectly makes "those on the upper storey of like size with those on the lower."

[7] See p. 76.

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also that the inner and open "reveals" were pushed out 18 ins. further into the wall.

The remaining portion of the Keep on this floor I reserve for separate consideration.

The *second floor*, of which the traces have all but disappeared, was divided in the same way as those beneath it, except that the apartments were all slightly larger, owing to the diminution, at each story, in the thickness of the wall. Just as the smaller remaining staircase had begun on the floor below, so, on this floor, in the north-east tower, there began another staircase, over the vaulted chamber. At the south end of the Eastern Chamber there was probably an additional entrance into the Chapel, which stood, as will be seen, above the present Museum. The height to be assigned to this storey must depend on whether the analogies between this building and the Tower are close enough to imply that in each case the principal floor was on the fourth tier, or whether it sufficiently resembles Canterbury to render it probable that, as in that and other keeps, it was here also on the third. I incline to the former opinion. In that case it would be some 15 feet high,[1] in the other, it would be at at least 20. All that now remains of it is the north-west Tower and a few yards of the west wall (or rather of its outer portion) adjoining it. But these relics tell us much. The fragment of wall terminates to the south in the jamb of a round-headed window,[2] the tiles which form the spring of its arch being as clear as when described by Mr. Cutts 30 years ago. Comparing it with the window at the top of the N.W. Tower,[3] we see at once they were similar in character, not loops but windows, and with the amount of tiles in their composition again greater than in those below them. It should also be noticed that as the window in the west wall admitted far more light than the loops beneath, it was placed at some distance from the Tower, fewer windows being required. There were probably in this wall three such windows, alternating with two fire-places.[4] The openings of their inner reveals[5] would widen

[1] Rendered probable by the lowness of the windows, adapted to a fighting-floor (Cf. *Archæologia* IV. 379.)

[2] So at Canterbury, on this tier, there are "large recesses narrowing by steps and terminating each in a small round-headed window." *Arch. Journ.* XXXII. 492.

[3] Its opening was 3½ ft. wide on the interior, as against 2¼ ft. in the one beneath it.

[4] It was usual for the fireplaces to stand over each other.

[5] The side of the remaining window shows two distinct reveals, both edged with tiles, the inner one about 2 ft. deep and the outer one about 1¼ ft. This confirms Buck's Print (1738) where the (tile) crown of the

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out again, and the reveal itself may even have been carried 6 ft. deeper into the wall. In the outer reveals were a few steps leading to the actual window. To realise the original position of these windows, we must look at the "set-off"[1] which runs along the crowns of the arches below, and remember that on this rested the massive flooring of the third tier, the surface of which would thus be about level with the modern pathway.[2] We traverse as we walk along it, the inner reveals of these windows,[3] which of course were originally separated by solid wall. Lastly in the N.W. Tower, we see the staircase still winding upwards to the fourth tier. It opened on to the third tier (which we are examining) through a lobby in the west or the north wall, probably in the latter above the "Postern."[4]

Above this was the *third floor* (or fourth tier) of the Keep. Here, if we accept the analogy of the Tower, were the chief and loftiest apartments, and round them there probably ran a passage in the thickness of the walls, neither the outer nor the partition walls becoming thinner at this storey.

Crowning all, there rose above the Keep the square summits of its mighty towers, rearing their crests to the majestic height of more than a hundred feet.[5] We cease to wonder at their massive masonry—so strangely massive for their present height,[6]—when we learn that, from the plinth upwards, they were originally thrice as high. The three staircase towers

staircase window is seen still perfect. Thus of the 9½ ft. of wall the inner reveal would take at least 6 ft., and these reveals would seem to correspond closely with those originally on this tier at the tower. The *width* of the inner ones was probably 7 ft. (as in the basement) and this was also the width at the Tower.

[1] "An important set-off of two feet." Mr. Buckler (3rd sec. p. 5.) That this was, (as in the storey below), the original ledge on which the floor-beams rested, is evident from the face of the north wall (which had no beams to support,) showing no such ledge. It is an important feature of the Architecture that the ceilings were thus flush with the tops of the arches, as is clearly seen in the "East Court."

[2] This portion can be well studied in Mr. Buckler's careful diagram (p. 39) which shews, as does his whole treatise, his exhaustive acquaintance with the building. His conclusions at this point differ of course entirely from mine.

[3] This explains the present even height of the walls, Wheely having destroyed the masonry to the bottom of this row of windows.

[4] So at Canterbury the N.E. staircase "opened into a lobby in the North wall at each stage."

[5] Their height, at the White Tower, is 108 feet from the floor level (see section in *Old London* p. 32). The walls of Loches and Nogent, two early 10th cent. Keeps, were over 100 ft. high. (Caumont V. 165, 167).

[6] Mr. Buckler makes a great point of their (seemingly) disproportionate strength. (pp. 10—13).

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opened on to the roof of the fortress, which was divided into three unequal ridges by broad gutters carried along the tops of the two partition walls.[1] Round the edge of the Keep there ran a battlemented walk, and from here the defenders could hurl stones and missiles of war.[2]

"A Cuvier," it has been recently observed, "can construct a whole skeleton from a single bone, but if the world is to accept his results, they must be according to the known laws of the subject." In presuming, after careful research, to reconstruct the original Keep, and to arrive, by independent study, at results which may be hastily rejected, I readily accept the above Dictum, and proceed to apply the comparative method to the Keeps of Colchester and of London.[3]

There are no other keeps in existence so large,[4] so oblong, or so "Roman" in appearance; the two latter characteristics afford proof of their early date.[5] Of this their extraordinary plainness is another proof.[6] So, too, is the absence of fore-buildings.[7] So, too, at Colchester, is the arching of the loops.[8] So, too, are their tortuous and intricate communications.[9] Each was built upon the site of a Roman building, and partly with the aid of its materials.[10] Each is entered in precisely

[1] Mr. Clark (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 321.)

[2] *Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 323.

[3] I rely chiefly on the authority of Mr. Clark, "the great master of military Architecture," (Freeman), and specially on his valuable monograph on the Tower contained in *Old London*.

[4] See p. 73. It is a significant fact, though strangly ignored, that the three largest Norman keeps, those of London, Colchester, and Norwich, being placed to guard the East Coast, were evidently designed against invasion from the East, and must have been erected when that danger was the most pressing, *i.e.* in the reign of the Conqueror. This is admitted in the case of London, and proved in the case of Norwich. Why then deny it in the case of Colchester?

[5] The original keeps in Normandy were "more usually oblong than square in plan" (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 337.)

"The rectangular keep of Longeais, built in 992, is one of the earliest known. It has much of the Roman method of building, especially in its arch-heads of bricks." (*Ib.* 106).

[6] "The latter keeps are known . . . most certainly by their greater ornamentation." (*Ib.* 309.)

[7] *Ib.* 323. See description of entrance, below.

[8] King's *Observations*.

[9] *Old London* p. 40.

[10] Mr. Clark, writing in 1867, rejected (*Old London* p. 19) the supposition that the Tower stood on the site of a Roman Fortress, and thought it "more probable that so massive a structure was placed on undisturbed ground." But, to quote from the latest authority,—"Recent discoveries have justified the ancient tradition that on this same site

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the same peculiar manner.[1] In each there is one, and only one, large newel staircase, leading from the floor to the summit. In each as shown above, there are similar large apartments, similar windows similarly situated, and a general similarity of plan. In short, to recur to Dr. Stukely's opinion,—"they are works of the same time and manner, and probably of the same hand."[2]

But it is when we turn to the great Apses, which distinguish these keeps from all others, that we find the correspondence most complete, and obtain the true key to the architecture of the citadel of the Colne.

"The south wall terminates eastward in a half round bow of 42 feet diameter, projecting on the east wall. This marks the apse of the chapel and is the greatest peculiarity of this tower."[3]

So says Mr. Clark of the White Tower, and his description applies *word for word* to the Keep of Colchester Castle. The only difference to be discovered in the Apses is that the one in the Tower is of 21½ feet projection and 43½ feet diameter, while that at Colchester is of 24 feet projection and 48 feet diameter, the proportion being thus correctly preserved. "Nothing approximating to them," as Mr. Buckler correctly observes, "is to be found among Castle Keeps."[4] The Chapel in the Tower, as Mr. Clark expresses it,

"Runs through the two upper floors of the building, and rests, in the two lower floors, upon a crypt and sub-crypt, both vaulted, and having semi-domed east ends."[5]

At Colchester, the Chapel has entirely disappeared, but the "crypt and sub-crypt" remain intact, and answer exactly to the above description. The former is now the Museum, and the latter is the old Dungeon. That Archæologists should have committed the amazing blunder of taking the Crypt for the Chapel proves how readily the most learned men will accept the

there stood an important Roman fortification, and the fact stands proved that important Roman works occupied the spot for a thousand years or more before Gundulf . . . pounded up the old red tiles and bricks of the Romans, and so gave to his mortar the red colour which the common folk regard with so much awe." This red mortar is found in the keeps of Normandy, as at Broue (Caumont V. 184.) See also p. 79.

[1] See below.

[2] See p. 19. It is significant that when Mr. Clark sought a parallel for a fireplace in the Tower, he found it in "a fireplace in Colchester Keep." *Old London* p. 29.

[3] *Old London* p. 28.

[4] p. 23. But this remark must only apply to the Apses.

[5] *Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 324.

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errors of tradition.[1] An elementary knowledge of Norman fortresses should have saved them from a mistake which has involved them in so hopeless a contradiction as to speak of "the Chapel at Colchester" as "grand in its massiveness and simplicity,"[2] and yet of the Chapel in the Tower as "the earliest and *simplest*, as well as most complete Norman Chapel in Britain."[3] The "Chapel" at Colchester is of a truth simpler still, but then—it is a Crypt and not a Chapel!

There is a strange irony in the thought that this chamber, in which Mr. Jenkins professed to detect an unmistakeable Roman *adytum*, and Mr. Cutts an unmistakeable Norman Chapel, was not, and could not possibly ever have been, either the one or the other.

Let us put the two Crypts side by side. At Colchester, as at the Tower, we find on the first floor, in the south-east angle of the Keep, a plain vaulted chamber of massive construction with a semi-domed east end.[4] In each case that end is contained in

[1] Probably, (as Mr. Gunner has suggested to me,) the Crypt came to be called the Chapel from being so used for the prisoners in the Jail. There is a curious parallel at Norwich, where Mr. King (in 1776) said of the "Chapel," in the lower part of the Keep, that "the *ancient* Chapel, mentioned in the old records as being in this Castle, must have been most probably on a level with the principal floor and state apartments; and could not have been originally here." (*Archæologia* IV. 404.) Morant, whose account betrays ignorance of the subject, perpetuated the name as he found it, and all subsequent authorities have allowed themselves to be blinded by his error. Mr. Strutt (1803), followed by Mr. Wright, waxed eloquent on its "beauty of proportions" as a Chapel (!) and Mr. Parker in his address on the Castle (1876) spoke of it unhesitatingly as "the Chapel." Mr. Buckler observes with perfect truth that "none can say with candour that the Chapel in Colchester Castle is a specimen of Norman Architecture" (p. 21), *i.e.* of a Norman Chapel, and it is due to this assumption, and others equally unfortunate, that he has been enabled plausibly to challenge the Norman origin of the Keep (See pp. 25, 92, 96).

[2] Mr. Collingwood Bruce, *On the Norman Fortress* (*Arch. Journ.* VI. 226.)

[3] Mr. Clark, *Old London* p. 36.

[4] At the Tower the vault is a plain barrel. At Colchester it has the *appearance* of being groined, and the effect has a striking resemblance to the vaulted "chapel of the Pyx" (1066). But in both crypts the *niche* is the sole *motif*. Each chamber is formed entirely by a combination of right-angled barrel-vaulted niches with semi-domed terminations. At Colchester there is a combination of nine such niches, (1) the main vault, which is merely a niche with its sides produced; (2) the four large niches, which by intersecting with it produce the effect of groining; (3) the three narrow niches in the Apse; (4) the small niche in the wall; the entrance itself is in a tenth niche. The intersections should be compared with those of the two barrel vaults beneath. This view of its Architecture, which I believe to be original, explains the seeming divergence between the crypts of Colchester and of London, and shews that they were both formed on one and the same principle. (See p. 30).

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an apse of bold projection, strengthened on the exterior by four buttresses. In each case[1] this chamber was lighted by three loops on the south,[2] and one loop at the east end (though at Colchester the apse has an additional loop on the north[3]). In each case the chamber was entered by a narrow passage at its north-east corner, for the arch (at Colchester) in the west wall, so confidently pronounced by Mr. Jenkins to have formed the original entrance, was never anything but a simple recess.[4] A similar arched recess is found in the same position both in the crypt and in the chapel of the White Tower.[5] Lastly, the vaulting of the crypt has been shewn, in a note, to be identical, though rendered seemingly dissimilar by the niche being more largely used at Colchester than at the Tower. Now why was this? The answer, I think, is a very simple one. The niches and arched recesses which may be said to characterize this structure, and which have given it to the eyes of some, a Roman appearance[6] in places, were inserted with a very clear

[1] "In the south wall, three round-headed recesses 6 ft. broad and 13 ft. high, terminated in loops, as did one at the east end" (*Old London*, p. 27). Mr. Jenkins states that the recesses in the apse were 6 ft. broad at Colchester, but the centre one is 6 ft. 8 ins., and the two side ones 5 ft. 6 ins.

[2] The thickness of wall in the crypt pierced by these two western loops was 10 ft. 1 in. and 6 ft. 5 ins. respectively, the east recess being purposely made 3 ft. 9 ins. deeper than the other, in order to bring it nearer the face of the buttress. The western window is still some 8 ft. 10 ins. from the ground, that being the height where the splay of the loop began. The two remaining loops are very valuable, from their singularly perfect condition.

[3] Was there originally a window here in the Tower crypt?

[4] Mr. Jenkins' assertion is improved upon by Mr. Buckler, who states (p. 22), that "the original entrance, nine feet in width, ... was closed *when the library was built*, and a fresh doorway made through a Roman niche on the outside of the library." And yet, on p. 49, Mr. Buckler has inserted Nelson's plan (1704), which has (in the original) no trace of this supposed entrance, though it was drawn more than 40 years before "the library was built." Nelson, in his anxiety to insert no opening about which he was not certain, actually drew the crypt *with no entrance at all*. Like Mr. Jenkins, he must have jumped at the conclusion that it could not have been entered through a niche, whereas this was just where it would be entered, the wall being thinnest at this point; but the original passage has been widened, which gives the effect of a breach.

[5] This recess in the crypt is, at Colchester, filled by a glass case, and is occupied, at the Tower, by a figure of Queen Elizabeth, from which the crypt is known as "Queen Elizabeth's Armoury." The crypt at Colchester was formerly the County Militia Armoury.

The combination of niches and arched recesses is to be found in many ancient Roman buildings, and the small niche within a niche, in the Crypt, reproduces in idea those, for instance just discovered in the

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and definite purpose, the purpose of economising the material required for this gigantic Keep.[1] We find them wherever they could be placed with safety,[2] and especially in the Apse itself, where the expenditure of material was greatest.[3] The respective dimensions of the two crypts are as follows—

	Colchester.	London.
Height	17.6	17.0
Clear width	14.6	13.6
Height of recesses[4]	14.0	13.0
Length	45.0	45.0
Outer wall	16.0	14.3
West wall	8.6	8.0

The Crypt, as it is thus proved to be, affords us the most direct evidence of the original height of the Castle. For the massive vaulting on which, in the Tower, the whole Chapel rests, is *here* ludicrously unmeaning, if there was no such superstructure to support.[5] When we compare these two great Apses still so strangely resembling each other, and resembling nothing else,[6] we see that if their "bodies" corresponded so closely, their "heads" must have corresponded also,[7] and that it would be as rational in the case of a decapitated corpse, to term its breast its head, as to see in the cellar-like Crypt at Colchester the Chapel that once rose above it,[8] the fellow, if not the rival, of the noble Chapel of St. John. But, it may be urged, the

Laconicum (of the Baths) behind the Pantheon. Thus much may be frankly conceded, and shews traces of "the Roman tradition" (pp. 26). But similar small niches were discovered by Mr. King in "the state chamber" of the Keeps of Conisborough and the Peak (*Archæologia* VI. 243, 253), and so Sir H. Englefield speaks (1771) even of Reading Abbey as "recalling to the mind the Baths of the Emperors."

[1] The White Tower being much smaller, such economy was not required, and the walls were not excavated except for convenience (as in the cell attached to the Crypt).

[2] See pp. 95, 96, &c.

[3] Exactly under the two western large niches in the Crypt were two deep arched recesses in the sub Crypt (p. 95) but it was unsafe on the ground-floor, to excavate the eastern portion.

[4] These recesses narrowed into the loops.

[5] Mr. Hartshorne, the eminent Archæologist, alluded to this vaulting (10th August, 1864), at the Colchester meeting of the B.A.A. as "rare" and "more extensive than in other Castles." Nor can it be explained except on the above hypothesis. Mr. Buckler puts great stress on it. (pp. 18-21).

[6] The exceptional character of these Apses, with the amount of material they required and the size of the Chapels they contained, is undoubtedly puzzling.

[7] The existence of (at any rate) a third tier being proved, it is obvious that nothing could have stood above the Crypt except the lost Chapel.

[8] "London and Colchester contain regular Norman churches." *Arch. Journ.* I. 96.

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Chapel, though part of the original design, was never actually constructed. Admitting, for the sake of argument, so improbable a supposition (it is unheard of that a Castle which stood several sieges should have been left half finished), we have fortunately documentary evidence in the *Carta Eudonis Dapiferi*, that it was actually standing and endowed with tithes in the year 1102.[1]

But though the Crypt alone would decide the question, the whole Keep bears similar witness. The State Rooms are nowhere found in it, and for its builders to have left it at its present height would have been like constructing a modern house with nothing but basement and offices! This, as has been shown (p. 84), is evident from the total absence of windows on the two remaining floors,[2] which proved that (as was the rule) they contained no state apartments, also from the height of these two floors, which correspond with the two lower storeys of other Keeps. Mr. Hartshorne's *ex cathedrâ* statement that its "altitude was never much more than is seen at present"[3] was eagerly seized on by the "Roman" theorists, and has enabled Mr. Buckler to make a distinct point by showing that, *on that hypothesis*, it differs from all known Keeps both in its height and in its buttresses.[4] For it is universally admitted[5] that the Norman Buttresses "died away" before they reached the crest of the wall, whereas the portions remaining at Colchester have not even begun to "set-off," much less to "die away."[6] This again would alone be conclusive. But we have even more definite evidence. The stairs in the N.W. Tower tell their own tale as they wind on upwards into space,[7] and fragments, as has been seen (p. 85), *actually remain* of one of the storeys, as if on purpose to prove how effectually they could both disappear.[8] The

[1] Omnes proventus *Capellæ in Castello Colicestreâ* (See p. 34.) And yet Mr. Hartshorne's conjectural date of erection was between 1087 *and 1120*!

[2] They were only lighted by loop-holes.

[3] *Brit. Arch. Journ.* XXI. 288. "Colchester Castle," he added, "was never of the same altitude as other Norman fortresses met with in England and elsewhere."

[4] *Colchester Castle* pp. 7, 10, 27.

[5] *Arch. Journ.* I. 95, XXIV. 320. *Brit. Arch. Journ.* VI. 213. So also Caumont (V. 165) "contreforts dont l'epaisseur diminue progressivement d'étage en étage."

[6] Mr. Clark says of the Tower Buttresses, "They lessen by two sets-off, at 50 ft. and 75 ft. from the ground, and die away 8 ft. below the battlement." *Old London*, p. 28.

[7] The stairs in Norman Keeps did not ascend beyond the roof.

[8] So Caumont (V. 176) judged Falaise, on the analogy of other Keeps, to have lost half its height. So too the top storey of Canterbury Castle has been admittedly removed. (*Arch. Journ.* XXXII. 491.)

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essential idea of a Norman Keep, with its four floors[1] as described above (p. 81) should enable us, even without evidence, to determine the original height of the "Castle" as certainly as the extent of a Roman Temple could be told "from the length of a triglyph."[2] To those who have once mastered that idea the hypothesis that it had no upper storeys, will appear as "grotesque a delusion" as the belief that it was a Roman Temple.

Lastly, if it be urged that these upper stories could not have wholly disappeared, I reply that we should rather wonder that so much of the structure has remained.[3] Mr. Thompson, in his Monograph on Leicester Castle, informs us that

"In almost all the surveys of Castles made in the times of Henry III and Edward I, the great Towers or Keeps are described to be in ruinous condition and generally roofless."[4]

Indeed, the keep at Leicester, had actually disappeared by the end of the 13th century. The reason of their decay is very simple. They ceased to be used for habitation after the 12th century, and were left, in the case of the Royal Castles,[5] at the mercy of absentee Constables, whose deputies had to plunder as much and spend as little as possible. We have accordingly a *catena* of evidence on the decay of Colchester Castle. Camden (1586) speaks of it as "a Castle ready to fall with age," evidently alluding to the upper and more damaged storeys. Norden (1594) describes it as "a Castle sometyme stronge and statelye, as the *ruynes* do shewe." More emphatic still is the statement of the jurors at the Inquisition of 1637,—"The said Castle is, and for many years past hath been, very ruinous and in decaye, and the Roofe of parcell of the said Castle, called King Coile's Hall,[6] is lately fallen down to the ground." Again, in 1655, it is described as "an old ruinous Castle."[7] And we must remember that what we see now is only the ruin of these ruins. Not only have 300 years passed over the Castle since Camden wrote, but the havoc wrought by time has been rivalled by that of man. In the course of Wheely's "great devastations" the Castle "suffered

[1] A strong reason for the height of their roofs, was the need of safety from fireballs. This was specially needful on flat ground as at Colchester.
[2] Vitruvius I. 2.
[3] Of most of the Keeps of this date in Normandy, Caumont could barely discover the foundations.
[4] *Leicester Castle* p. 15.
[5] Except where, as at London or Dover, they served as Places of Arms.
[6] See p. 7.
[7] See p. 65.

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extremely, . . . the tops of the Towers and Walls being forced down with screws or blown up with gunpowder."[1]

It has been needful to discuss this point exhaustively, in order to prove how utterly untenable is the theory that Colchester Castle was never higher than at present, and on the other hand how, on the more rational hypothesis, it falls into place at once in the ranks of the Norman Fortresses. Nor can it fail to acquire a new and deeper interest, when we learn that, alone among English Keeps, it so closely resembled the Tower of London as to force the conclusion on a candid mind that these, the noblest Towers which the Norman ever raised, were alike the offspring of the master-brain of Gundulf, monk and mason.[2]

I have already assigned, on historical grounds (p. 32), the same date to this Keep as to the Tower of London, and I now claim that the architectural evidence points to the same conclusion. Their peculiar resemblance proves that they were designed by the same man and at the same time, and both the designer and the date of the White Tower are happily beyond dispute. The incredulity of Archæologists as to our early Keeps[3] is due to their error in attempting to force into one class all the masonry of a particular date. Inequality of achievement is the natural outcome of individualism, and individualism, from the poverty of communications, was a marked feature of the Dark Ages. The peculiar genius of the Tower-building Bishop placed him in advance of his time, and the masons also whom he gathered round him must have excelled their fellows in construction.[4] Hence the superiority of his great Donjons over other buildings of the day.[5]

Let us now complete the analysis of the southern portion of the Keep. This portion, it must be repeated (see p. 70) was de-

[1] Morant's *Colchester* I. 7.

[2] The striking similarity between the two Keeps has been obscured by incidental variations, greatly dependent on the materials available. The chief contrast is caused by the development, at Colchester, of the angle Towers as substitutes for the pilaster strips, but this is merely an external difference, and indeed, does not extend to the Apses, both of which have four buttresses.

[3] See pp. 30, 75. It must always be remembered that the date assigned to this Keep on supposed architectural evidence is actually contradicted by history.

[4] So Mr. Parker says of the Gothic revival in our own day that a school of workmen had to be educated for it,—"not only the architects and builders, but their *workmen*, had to be taught that even the construction of the walls was as bad as bad could be."

[5] It is a singular fact that Eudo is recorded to have been intimate with Gundulf. Had they become acquainted at Colchester?

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signed to act as a bulwark to protect the rest of the building on its most exposed side. For this military purpose it was specially and skilfully adapted. The battering ram and the miner's pick were the chief dangers feared by the Norman builders, and on that account the ground floors were made disproportionately strong.[1] Thus here the angle towers were built up solid to the level of the first floor. So with the south front. In its centre, but on its inner face, an abutment of vast strength (42 feet deep and 38 feet wide) was constructed up to the level of the first floor. This again rested on the southern ends of the two partition walls, which were both ingeniously placed where their thrust could be thus utilised.[2] The centre of the abutment was hollowed out, chiefly in order to save material.[3] Being designed only for ground defence and not, as the Crypt was, to support a superstructure, it was not carried up beyond the level of the first floor. Adjoining it on the east was the sub-crypt, which alterations have long disfigured. This was the Dungeon proper in the early days of the Castle. It was entered under a spacious Arch deeply recessed into the wall,[4] in the west of which was a small doorway leading into the vault. This vault resembles in every way the corresponding one of the Tower, ("Little-Ease") save that it has, in addition, two deep arched recesses at its west end,[5] combined in a plain barrel vault, which intersects its own at right angles. Each of these vaults had a loop-hole at its extremity, one on the east, the other on the south, and doubtless the inner chamber was separately bratticed off.[6] On the north of these vaults is an external building, added in the last century when prisoners were again confined here.

On the west of the central abutment there was originally a large and dark chamber, not vaulted, enclosed on the north by a wall nearly ten feet in thickness, on a line with the north wall of the sub-crypt, the line (which is that of the staircase tower as well) being only broken by the projecting abutment. This chamber originally extended as far as the actual tower, the present great gateway being then blank wall. Into it descended the spacious staircase, by which alone the basement could be

[1] The accompanying plans clearly show the great difference in strength between the two floors. (See also pp. 74, 84).

[2] A similar contrivance is found in the centre of the S. wall of the Norwich Keep. (*Archæologia* IV. 396, 402.)

[3] In this vault Lucas and Lisle were confined, (p. 59). It was used till recently as a Soup Kitchen.

[4] This singular arch, which seems to have escaped notice, could have answered no purpose but to save material (see p. 90).

[5] Corresponding with the large niches above them (p. 91).

[6] See also Chapter VI.

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reached, and in its north wall, at the western end, there was probably a small arched doorway, the only means of communicating with the rest of the floor. For the sake of additional security it was purposely left in darkness, save for a glimmer of light which reached it from the staircase loop. In this chamber also, were two of those bold niches which so strangely characterize the building[1] Of these the one on its west side, over nine feet in height,[2] is still remaining in the wall, but that on the south, which was 7½ feet in width, has long been broken out into a window.[3] Here was the great well of the Castle, lying conveniently at the foot of the main staircase, and situated as usual at a safe distance from the only entrance to the Keep.[4] Though the present gateway was broken through the southern wall of this chamber (see p. 71), its northern wall continued intact, probably till breached by Wheely.[5] The chamber, when Morant wrote, was only a roofless space, but when the floor above it was restored by Mr. Gray, he erected, as a support, the present arcade, which traverses the original area.

Before leaving this room we should notice that there has been cut through its floor a descent to the foundations of the structure. These consisted of a solid platform 22 feet in height, and 170 feet long by 130 feet wide (exclusive of all projections) at the base of its spreading sides. The cubic contents of this gigantic pile, which stood partly above and partly below ground, were 750,000 feet![6] Of this mass seven-eighths was composed of solid

[1] See p. 90. There must probable have been a third niche where the gateway was afterwards broken through (See Plan).

[2] This recess (in which are now some stone coffins) has been seemingly narrowed (on the south) from 8½ feet to 7 feet. The line of the original arch can still be traced on the wall. It was in this hole that Parnell the Quaker suffered and died for his religion.

[3] It was still a niche in Nelson's survey (1704), but had become a window in the Antiquaries' view (1732).

[4] This disposes of Mr. Buckler's objection that the Normans would never have sunk the well so near the entrance (p. 15), though the objection would indeed be weighty if the original entrance had been here. Mr. Jenkins copied from Mr. Wright the tradition that a small passage, leading south, was found half-way down the well. Mr. Gunner, however, assures me that he can find nothing of the kind. The well was destroyed by Wheely, but carefully restored by Mr. Gray to the depth of 60 feet. Mr. King, ignorant of this, pronounced (1776) the well to be "probably in the cross-wall," and Mr. Clark, from want of local knowledge (p. 68), repeats the mistake (*Arch. Journal* xxiv. 336).

[5] It is traced by a dotted line in the Survey of 1732.

[6] *Colchester Castle* p. 19. The enormous strength of these foundations testifies to the weight they were designed to carry, and affords additional evidence of the original height of the Keep.

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masonry, and the remainder consisted of sandy soil heaped up in four cavities formed in the heart of the masonry. These cavities were of tunnel-like form, their arched roofs rudely pointed.[1] They were wrought over the solid sand itself, and of course had no exit or even intercommunication.[2] Their existence was utterly unknown till revealed by Wheely's havoc.[3] He cleared the sand out of all but the North Western cavity, carting it up an inclined plane through a tunnel in the North wall.[4] Descending the present stairs, we enter the South-west cavity, 33 feet long by 22½ feet wide, pass through a breach in the 10 feet wall into the adjoining one, which is of like size, and thence, through another breach, into the great vault 66 feet long by 22½ feet wide.[5] As we stand in the heart of this Titanic structure, on ground which for six centuries was untrodden by human feet, there rises through the stillness the wail of the Chronicler,—"And all England was aweary with working at the Conqueror's Castles."[6] For the grim masonry which we see around us is as truly the triumph of feudal power, as are the pyramids themselves of those ancient days when men were as nought to the Pharaohs.[7]

As we return from these depths into the light of day, and pass from out the well-chamber, we find ourselves in what, since the

[1] Like the one contained in the similar spreading substructure at Conisboro', which was, however, not filled, but used as the Keep dungeon, from want of space above.

[2] They were not only filled with sand, but were buried deep in the solid foundation. Hence Morant's description, "fine and spacious vaults" is misleading. So too, Mr. Bruce (*Brit. Arch. Journal*, vi. 227) spoke of them as "too spacious" for prisons, and Mr. Parker (1876) as "Norman Cellars" (*Essex Standard*). This they obviously could not be, and the cellars (as usual in Norman Keeps) were here above ground. Mr. Strutt (1803), equally misled, supposed an "original entrance still hidden" (p. 157), whereas there was nothing to enter.

[3] A block of masonry which he dislodged from the top of the wall is said to have split open one of the cavities.

[4] Visible from the interior. A similar tunnel has been cut at the Tower beneath the south wall of 'Little Ease.'

[5] To its west is the fellow vault, of like size, but still choked with earth. The usual legend of an underground passage (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 333) has hung with persistence about Colchester Castle. It is said to lead to Castle Hedingham. A similar story is told of the Norman Castle of La Pommeraye, and of many others.

[6] "Rex Willielmus Conquestor ad Castella construenda totam Angliam fatigabat," Rous. See also *Norm. Conq.* (1st. Ed.) II. 137, 605—607, and the expression "Ad castra quoque construenda Rex antecessores suos omnes superabat."

[7] Mr. Roach Smith has recorded that these foundations present no trace of Roman work.

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12th century, has been the great entrance of the Keep. When this gateway was broken through the wall,[1] it opened on the plinth line, several feet above the ground. A broad flight of steps was therefore constructed, but adapted merely for convenience and not for purposes of defence.[2] The archway itself is extremely fine, and its ornamentation is the more effective from the rigid simplicity of the building.[3] The mode of defending this entrance deserves close attention. Mr. Clark, as we have seen (p. 71), believes that entrances on the ground-floor were substituted for those on the first-floor, when the addition of an external wall made this concession to convenience safe. But as a matter of fact it was extremely rare to make a ground entrance on the ground-floor and indeed there is probably not one that can be compared with the Gateway at Colchester. Moreover, the addition of an external wall was of less importance than the improvement in the means of fortifying the entrance, which I would urge was invented between the erection of this Keep and the formation of the great Gateway.[4] This consisted of the Portcullis, with its subsidiary lines of defence. At Colchester the engineeers had not the advantage of a long passage suited to this invention, for the entrance being merely broken through the wall (here 12½ feet thick) was only 12½ feet deep. But into this space they contrived to insert (1) a Portcullis [5] (2) a pair of wooden gates [6] (3) an inner gate.[7] After passing through these, the entrance proper, there was (4) a gate at the entrance to the stairs.[8] Between the outer and inner gates was the usual "niche" for the warder's seat.[9] About it may be noticed the rude carvings by which the monotony of his

[1] See p. 71.

[2] They had treads of fifteen inches and risers of eight. The Antiquaries' View (1732) shows the five steps as standing clear, and they were re-discovered, in 1850 and 1857, by Mr. Jenkins. The ground now slopes over them as with the foot of the great staircase.

[3] See Frontispiece. Details of the moulding have been published in *Archæologia*.

[4] See p. 104.

[5] Lowered from the floor above (see p. 99). The grooves for it are still visible.

[6] Flues for their bars remain on each side.

[7] Flush with the inner face of the wall. The stone-work built for it appears now unmeaning, as in the Barbican of Lewes Castle. This was the explanation in each case.

[8] The flue for its bar is visible.

[9] It is found here in other cases, specially in the entrance to Lincoln Castle. The "niches" beyond (with the masonry round them) are modern.

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existence was relieved.[1] On the opposite wall are some more, including a complete Rood. Others, executed at the same period, are to be seen about the doorway in the cross-wall, and conspicuous among them a Lily of France, carved, it may be, by the hands of the soldiers of Philip Augustus.

Turning to the great spiral staircase, we find it of unrivalled dimensions, being half as wide again as that in the Tower of London.[2] It is thus evidently proportioned to the size of the whole building. The marks of the planks on which its vault was turned are still plainly to be discerned.[3] Both the entrance passage and the landing above it have vaults rudely groined. At the first floor level, an arched entrance leads into the body of the building. The space into which it opens has been most effectually transfigured. It was originally a single chamber, extending as far as the Crypt wall, and was 54 feet long by 26 feet wide. In its south wall, as first constructed, there were four arched recesses[4] about six feet wide and four in depth; of these, the westernmost was enlarged to form a receptacle for the Portcullis, when the great gateway was added in the 12th century, and the other three were converted by Mr. Gray into a fireplace and windows for his Library. The wall in which they stood is over twelve feet in thickness, while the east and north walls of the apartment were between eight and nine. It was lighted by no windows, but, as with the chamber beneath it, some light reached it from a window contrived in the staircase tower. I have already shewn[5] that the present "Piazza" occupies the site of the stout wall which divided this apartment from the Western Chamber, and it may be wondered by what means

[1] In the wall, by its side, is a metal plate with a somewhat disputed inscription. Versions of it will be found in Morant's *Colchester* and in Jenkins' *Temple of Claudius*.

[2] It has a diameter of sixteen feet, with a newel two feet thick. The diameter at the Tower is eleven feet. Mr. Clark says "A principal staircase, from 9 to 11 feet diameter, usually ascends from the basement to the roof." (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 320). Thus he strangely ignores Colchester (16 feet), as he does also, on the preceding page, in speaking of the Norman Keep as "from 30 to 80 and even 100 feet in the side," dimensions which Colchester far exceeds. (See also p. 96).

[3] Mr. Bruce describes the process in Vol. VI of the *Brit. Arch. Journ.* and adds "The centering was allowed to remain until the whole was consolidated, and when it was removed it necessarily left the impression in the mortar of the roof, of the rough boards of which it was formed. This may yet be noticed in many of our Norman Castles."

[4] See p. 90. Mr. Buckler describes them as "niches" (p. 26). Nelson drew them as *arches*, like the Portcullis arch, which they doubtless resembled in character like the other arches in the Keep.

[5] See p. 95.

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sufficient light could have been admitted. Here the analogy of the Tower enables us to solve the difficulty. Defence being as usual the prime, and convenience the secondary object, it was deemed advisable that this important point should be kept in semi-darkness.[1] It must therefore have received its chief light from the Western chamber (itself somewhat dark), through three arches in its north wall, corresponding precisely with three of the arches recessed in its southern wall.[2] The fourth and easternmost was, in all probability, faced by a similar recess. If we admit this hypothesis (on the close analogy of the Tower), we see that Mr. Gray, who was a reverent Antiquary,[3] must have erected the arches of his "Piazza"[4] in reproduction of the original idea, just as, in his library, he reproduced "with great propriety"[5] the recesses which had characterized its design. The arch at the east end is modern, and we have seen[6] that there is no evidence whatever for the assertion that the wall was originally open. It is clear, on the other hand, that the niche in this wall (at its north end) must have been entered from somewhere,[7] and can only have been entered from a passage of communication leading from this chamber to the central corridor. This passage I have therefore inserted in my Plan.[8]

[1] So at the Tower, "The main door opened upon a very gloomy first floor For purely military purposes all this was advantageous." *Old London*, p. 40.

[2] At the Tower, on this floor, "the walls are about 13 feet thick, the cross wall 8 feet. In the latter are three openings 6 feet wide and 15 feet high, round-headed and quite plain" (*Old London*, p. 26). At Colchester, the wall was between 8 and 9 feet thick, and it is singular that if (as I have suggested), the arched openings were the same size as the recessed arches, they would be 5 or 6 feet wide. Thus, these three openings would closely resemble the three at the Tower, and would, of course, like them, be "round-headed and quite plain." The westernmost one would face and exactly correspond with the original entrance of the Keep, and would stand just above the door of the well-chamber.

[3] Mr. Gray became owner (by marriage) of the Castle within less than 50 years of Wheely's destructive havoc. The character of the portions he destroyed would, therefore, be still remembered.

[4] They have only been glazed in recent years.

[5] Grose's *Military Antiquities*, 1773.

[6] p. 90.

[7] The Niche just faced the end of the partition wall, so that a passage must inevitably have run between them. This passage was the boundary of Wheely's devastation, he having completely removed the south and east walls of the great Chamber (see plan), but not reached on this floor the eastern half of the Keep.

[8] By the above solution of this puzzling problem, the two doors at the south end of the Corridor would about stand over each other, like those still in the East wall, and the passages would also run one above the other.

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The Library, which occupies the bulk of this area, was, with the exception of its south and east walls, entirely constructed by Mr. Gray.[1] The carved fireplace, which is its chief feature, was added at a subsequent period. This noble specimen of Tudor Art is 9 feet in width and 10 feet in height. Its two figures, quasi-caryatides, are represented with grapes and ears of corn, as if Eucharistic in significance.[2] In this room, which was built in 1750, Mr. Gray founded for himself and his friends, the Castle Society Book Club.[3] Its shelter was also at once extended to the valuable but neglected collection of books bequeathed by Archbishop Harsnet.[4] Morant, writing in 1748, complained that they had "long laid in a useless condition," from the refusal of the Corporation to provide a room for them. They remained, however, in the Free School, "where there was no proper room for them, and where they were in danger of speedy decay,"[5] till November 1749, when Mr. Gray a zealous bibliophile, gave them house-room in the present Museum until he should have built his library.[6]

Here too, the County Magistrates long met in Petty Sessions, at the time when the buildings in the East Court were rented by the County as a Jail.[7]

North of the Library runs the passage formerly known as the Piazza, and from which there is an excellent view of the "herring-bone" masonry in the wall.[8] The Crypt which has served

[1] See Chap. VI. Wheely it must be repeated, had made a clear sweep of every stick and stone between the staircase tower and the vaulted portions to the east (pp. See also Nelson's plan) and in this state Mr. Gray found it. Hence the extent of his restorations.

[2] Or possibly intended for a dining-hall.

[3] Among its original Members, in 1752, were Morant himself, Mr. Round of Birch Hall, Mr. Wegg of East Hill House, Dr. Daniel of St. Martin's House, Mr. Milton, Rector of St. James', and other Colchester notables. Mr. Gray and Mr. Haynes (of Copford) were both liberal benefactors. The Book-plate of the Club was a view of the Castle.

[4] See Morant's *Colchester* (1748), II. 7, III. 6. The Corporation received them *on condition* of providing a suitable room for them, but this duty they have been loth to fulfil, and they actually mortgaged the whole library in the days of the Puritan domination.

[5] MS. record.

[6] *Ib.*

[7] At the Archæological meeting in 1876, it was fitted up as a Loan Museum.

[8] As herring-bone work occurs in Roman masonry it has been held to prove that the Castle is Roman, but Mr. Bloxam has shewn (*Arch. Journ.* I. 317) that what is called herring-bone work "is by itself no criterion of any particular era It is found in Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Norman masonry." It has been curiously revived in the modern wood-crossing. Chepstow and Canterbury, in which are Roman materials, also have herring-bone work. It is found at Sémilly and other Keeps in Normandy.

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as the Town Museum since Mr. Round presented it to the Corporation, was formerly used by Mr. Gray to contain his collection of curiosities. Three of its loops have been broken into windows, but the other two are intact, and contain respectively the books belonging to the Corporation and the Archæological Society. The niche into which the entrance leads, has been broken through on the North to afford admission to the "women's ward" on the upper floor of the prison erected in the last century. This recess is now used as a Museum of Natural History.[1]

Returning towards the staircase, we come to the chamber which has been presented to the Town for a Record Room.[2] It is 10½ feet wide by 15½ deep, and 16 feet high, and was lighted by two loops now closed up. The two vaults on its outside are said by Mr. Buckler to have descended from two *Cameræ Privatæ* (Privies) in the chamber, but there could have been nothing of the kind here (see below), nor were they wanted. They probably led from mere sinks (as they did in a Keep described by Caumont[3]), and as the room lay conveniently close to the staircase, it may have been one of the Domestic Offices.

Again ascending the great staircase, we notice that it led not only to the second floor but beyond it, for the original newel still rises to the height of 22 feet above the first floor level, a point higher than its roof.[4] "Above this point," as Mr. Buckler reminds us (p. 11) "the staircase was pulled down in 1683, and re-built in the last century." The opening from the staircase on to the second floor was undoubtedly over the opening below, just about the point, that is, where it now opens on to the leads.

Leaving behind us the wind-sown sycamore, which braves so sturdily the gale, we pass along the parapeted gangway, constructed in the last century,[5] leading to the North-West Tower. Here should be noticed the remains of the storey described on p. 85. Descending the staircase in the N.W. tower [6] we pass, at its foot, under a stone-crowned arch into a small lobby, 3½ ft.

[1] It is rented of the Proprietor by the Colchester Natural History Society.

[2] See Chap. VI. It was formerly the abode of Miss Ann Smith, the daughter of the Castle Jailor, who was born within the Castle, and never slept beyond its walls for the space of 60 years.

[3] V. 265, Cf. *Archæologia* IV. 388.

[4] See p. 81.

[5] See p. 86.

[6] Its steps, 5 ft. wide, have been modernised, but some original ones remain at the summit.

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wide, of which the vault is rudely groined.[1] To our left is a mural passage bent at right angles, its outer limb 38 inches wide and the inner one 35.[2] The latter is most ingeniously contrived to fulfil the double purpose of a small *garderobe* (privy), and a 'flanker' to the entrance of the Keep.[3] The mural *garderobes* are found in all Norman Keeps, and it should be specially noticed that whereas Canterbury and the White Tower have each one on this floor,[4] Colchester, being twice as large, has two;[5] also that the one at the Tower is placed in precisely this same corner.[6] Returning to the Lobby we come to two doorways, one on the right, leading into the Keep, and one on the left, walled-up.

It has been already mentioned that this "postern"[7] or "sally-port" was originally nothing of the kind, but was the sole entrance to the Keep. It was also shown how skilfully it was placed to form part of the general design as adapted to the necessities of the ground. That this doorway was the true entrance, both here and in other early Keeps, is a point which Mr. King was the first to establish,[8] but which has since been abundantly confirmed by all writers on the subject.[9] It was

[1] In the Gough Collection is a curious engraving (1774) of a "stone Candlestick" (or rather Sconce) "dug up lately in Colchester Castle, and placed by Mr. Gray in y^e^ wall of y^e^ small N.W. staircase." Round its rim were the words "God send us the light in heaven."

[2] It is singular that this inner passage is only 35 ins. wide here, 34 ins. at the Tower, and 33 ins. at Canterbury (*Archæologia* VI. 310).

[3] See p. 106.

[4] As there were three, at the Tower, in the more habitable floor above, there must have been even more, on that storey, at Colchester.

[5] See p. 108. Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Buckler have asserted that there was another in the South of this Tower, where there was no room for it. (See also p. 102.)

[6] "Between one of these (windows) and the north-west angle is a small mural passage, 2 ft. 10 ins. wide, and bent at right angles. Under its exterior loop was the garderobe shaft." *Old London*, p. 26. Mr. Clark states on p. 39 that the Tower had "*no* garderobe on the second stage." But this is disproved by the above. His assertion that there was "but one fireplace" seems also erroneous, as another is visible beneath it, on this floor. (See also p. 104).

[7] It is shewn in the background of the frontispiece.

[8] *Observations on Ancient Castles*, 1776.

[9] See Caumont (V. 160). "On évitait toujours d' accéder par le rez de chaussée dans les donjons." So too, Mr. Clark (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 322), and Mr. Bruce (*Brit. Arch. Journ.* VI. 213). "The cautious policy of the Normans suggested that the doorway of the Keep should not be on the floor, but at a considerable elevation." He adds, however, in error, that the entrance at Colchester is an exception to this rule. This mode of entrance may have been derived from the Romans (Mr. King refers to St. Paul "on the stairs" of the Tower of Antonia, and Caumont to Justinian),

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wrongly supposed, however, that this entrance (in the larger Keeps) was always protected by a 'forebuilding,'[1] till Mr. Clark's more critical eye detected its absence at the Tower, and drew therefrom the inference that it was probably a subsequent invention.[2] But it has escaped notice that the Keep at Colchester, though the largest of all Keeps, is equally devoid of this feature. Now here, I think, is a fact which throws a new light upon the question, and which will enable us, I believe, to correct the received but imperfect theory on the mode of enter- these Keeps. The original idea [3] was, as we might expect, a narrow door, in the side of the Keep, at some height from the ground. This would only be accessible by applying a ladder to the wall.[4] Let us trace the developement of this idea. As the internal arrangements for defence improved, it became possible to substitute for the loose ladder, permanent wooden steps. The next stage was a solid landing on which the top of the stairs could rest. Then from this low stage was eventually developed the forebuilding, "common," as Mr. Clark correctly states, "in the latter Norman Keeps." Here then we have, I maintain, a consistent process of evolution. But this is not all. The invention of the forebuilding was so much appreciated that it was not only employed in new Keeps, but was substituted, as we shall see, for the original entrance in some already built. It is by the aid of Mr. King's careful studies, more than a century ago, that we are able to arrive at this conclusion. Though fail- ing to hit on the right theory, he noted at Colchester, at Canterbury, and at Dover, the marks on the wall of the wooden steps, leading to a former entrance. Combining this with Mr. Clark's hypothesis on the entrance to the White Tower,[5] we find that at London, at Colchester, and at Canterbury, the three Keeps which I have specially compared, the entrance was placed in each case in the western half of the north wall of the first-floor,[6] was in each case approached by steps,[7] and was divided

but the same device is to be found elsewhere, and even in the Forts of China (Nieu-hoff's *Pekin Embassy*, 1656), and the Monasteries of Sinai. Indeed, it merely adapts the idea of the tree-hunting tribes.

[1] "In large fortresses it is *uniformly* protected by a tower attached to the Keep." Mr. Bruce (*Brit. Arch. Journ.* VI. 214).

[2] "There are no traces of the applied forebuilding or barbican common in the later Norman Keeps." *Old London*, p. 38. So too, *Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 323.

[3] Whether traceable to Justinian or not.

[4] As still in China and Arabia.

[5] *Old London*, p. 38.

[6] Mr. Clark says that at the Tower the original entrance was at "the next or middle opening to the present one." But he evidently means the second opening from the N.W. angle, so that, both at Colchester and there, it led into into the West Chamber.

[7] King (1776), shewed clearly that the entrance at Canterbury was on

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by an internal wall from the main staircase of the Keep.[1] We also find at Dover and the Peak,[2] traces of these wooden stairs leading to a bare entrance. The versatile Normans, in their love for improvements[3] substituted, at Colchester, a fortified entrance,[4] placed for convenience at the foot of the stairs, while at Dover and Canterbury they erected, instead, elaborate forebuildings on the next side, covering an entrance apparently as high as the second floor.

It has also hitherto escaped notice that the vaulted dungeon for prisoners was originally on the basement of these Keeps, but was afterwards placed in that of the forebuilding, on its invention[5] Just therefore as we find in these forebuildings, the dungeon below, and the Chapel above, so in the Keeps of London and Colchester we find the dungeon below and the Chapel (with its crypt) above. And as the Dungeon, at Canterbury also, is built within the Keep, the latter is once more proved to be older than the invention of the fore-building.

But let us examine, at Colchester, the details of the entrance. The North-West Tower, at the first floor level, set back 6 ft., leaving an open landing 7½ ft. by 6 ft., of which the edges have long since been worn away. This was reached from the ground by a flight of wooden steps, of which the marks, as Mr. Buckler observes, can still be seen upon the wall.[6] Thus the entrance corresponds exactly with that which Mr. Buckler tells us we should look for in a Norman Keep :—[7]

"The wall of the Keep was provided with a loophole for an oblique

the "North" side (through a similar portal to that at Colchester), and I must certainly differ from Mr. Clark, who says,—"That it was not upon the N. front is pretty clear from the fact that the top of the Plinth is unbroken." (*Arch. Journ.* XXXII. 493). It did not occur to Mr. Clark (who examined it under great difficulties) that open wooden steps would not have injured the Plinth, and that the forebuilding in the W. was only a later addition. That King was indisputably right we shall see below.

[1] See p. 100. The entrance being on the N.W., the staircase was S.W. at Colchester, and N.E. in the others.

[2] *Archæologia*, VI. 251.

[3] They actually pulled down Lanfranc's Choir at Canterbury, in order to build a finer one.

[4] See p. 98.

[5] "The basement of the forebuilding was usually a dungeon." Mr. Clark (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 322, 326). See also, Mr. King's description of it at Rochester. At Loches, too, there was a forebuilding containing the prison and the chapel above it.

[6] p. 28. They left the Plinth at the point where the present wooden door opens, and ascended at an angle of about 40 degrees.

[7] He selects Castle Hedingham as his type.

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attack upon the enemy. At the top of the steps were openings which enfiladed the approach from top to bottom, and, after having overcome all these difficulties, the besiegers had then to turn a corner before they could attack the main door of entrance" (p. 18).

Not only was a loophole here contrived to take the enemy in flank, but its recess was specially made 1½ ft. wider than the others.[1] "At the top of the steps" was another loophole, which completely "enfiladed the approach,"[2] and "the besiegers had then to turn a corner before they could attack the main door of entrance."[3] This entrance should be compared with the doorways in the partition walls, for like them it was wider in its inner half (5 ft.) than in its outer (3¼ ft.) Its door, which is now replaced by masonry, opened inwards in the same way, and there was also clearly an inner door flush with the wall's inner face. Supposing then the assailants to have carried the outer door, they would either make for the great staircase,—which would involve their forcing the inner door, (while attacked on their right flank), and then fighting their way across the whole West Chamber, and through the arches at its end,[4] into the gloomy South Chamber,—or they would try to reach the main floors by means of the small staircase, which would involve their turning another corner, forcing perhaps another door,[5] and then attacking a staircase comparatively easy to defend.[6] At Canterbury,[7] Norwich, &c., a staircase began in the same way

[1] It was on that account selected by Wheely to be broken open, when he required an aperture through which to remove the materials. It has since remained an unsightly hole.

[2] As can still be seen by looking through it. In Mr. Buckler's excellent plan of the entrance (p. 13) this loophole is seen to be skilfully slanted in order to command a wider range. Its extreme narrowness (some 4 ins.) should also be noticed, as part of the jealous precautions, and lastly the singular downward slope of this passage, possibly intended to render the missiles harmless.

[3] It is interesting to observe that at Canterbury, where there was no *external* flanker, (as at Colchester) the original entrance was not straight, but was taken through a narrow bent mural passage, intended for *internal* defence (*Archæologia* VI. 301, 303). Thus these entrances are both invaluable as illustrating the original mode of defence before the invention of the Portcullis &c.

[4] Caumont (V. 161) having found grooves in such arches, believed that they could be closed by shutters. In that case the South Chamber could, in time of siege only be reached through the corridor,—a likely precaution. But compare Mr. Clark (*Old London*, p. 41).

[5] There was pretty certainly a door at the foot of the staircase in the narrow passage (3¼ ft.) which led to the stairs (5 ft).

[6] So at the Tower:—"The arrangements within are very peculiar and show a provision against surprise, carried, if not to excess, yet to a degree fatal to convenience" (*Old London* p. 39).

[7] There however the entrance, being more exposed, was walled off from hese stairs.

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on this floor to the right of the entrance, and the latter is thus described by Mr. King.

"There is still a passage from this vestibule into the Castle, and on one side of it is a smaller arch, now walled up, communicating with a winding staircase at the corner, which went to the top of the Castle."[1]

But though built as the entrance and not as a postern, this doorway may occasionally have been used as such,[2] in case of a regular siege. The defenders, except in the event of a surprise, would close up the main entrance[3] and use for the time the earlier one.[4] Thus, the attack would have here to be made on the side defended by the earthworks, and when the defenders were driven from them, they would scramble up back into the Keep.[5]

At the east end of the North wall the walk ends in a square room approached by a roofed arcade. It was erected by Mr. Gray in the last century, as a study for himself. Immediately beneath it, in the East Court, there stood till recently[6] the gabled house built for the keeper of the Jail.[7] Into it was incorporated a vaulted chamber on the first floor of the North-east Tower, which was approached by a mural passage bent at right angles, and was the same height as the Record Room.[8] It was lighted by one loop on the North, and a double one on

[1] *Observations on Ancient Castles.* The *exteriors* of the entrances are also strikingly similar (see Mr. King's elevations), and with the relative positions of the two staircases, and the two cross-walls, afford a remarkable resemblance. Caumont says of Colchester "Elle avait beaucoup de ressemblance avec le donjon de Cantorbéry" (p. 205).

[2] Subsequently to the great gateway being added in the 12th Century.

[3] "A method occasionally adopted was to choke it up with barrels of earth." (*Brit. Arch. Journ.* VI. 217).

[4] We may find this practice proved and illustrated, (1) in the attack on the Castle of Otranto, 1495, (see *Memoires de G. de Villeneuve*) "ils resistèrent, et tindrent fort, au premier assault qui fut donné à la basse-court, tant que à eulx fut possible; mais au long aller fut force qu'ils habondonassent Et a ceste cause fut contraint de se retirer dedans le chasteau lui et ses gens; et a toute diligence mirent peine de gaigner le hault des grosses tours et le dessus de la posterne, *car la grant porte estoit très fort murée.*" (2) in the defence of Wardour Castle by Ludlow, 1643 (see Ludlow's *Memoirs*, 1698, I. 81) "we made our gate unserviceable *by barricading it up on the inside*, so that now we had no way out but through a window."

[5] "The excessive jealousy in guarding the entrance also rendered impracticable the rapid re-entry of the garrison" (*Arch. Journ.* XXIV. 335.)

[6] It was demolished in September 1881.

[7] Said to date from 1794, but had been standing "many years" in 1797 (see Chapter VI).

[8] Similar mural chambers are found at Arques and Falaise.

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the East. We may complete the tour of the Keep with the *garderobe* in the East wall, which should be compared with the very similar one in the corresponding wall of the floor above at the Tower. This comparison will prove the correctness of Mr. Buckler's supposition that its smaller and northern entrance was not original. (p. 38). It occupies the space of one window, and is the only strictly *mural* chamber now remaining in the Keep.

Briefly to resume the results obtained, we have seen that the "Castle" is a Norman Keep, answering in its general design to other early Keeps, but presenting in its distinctive feature a close analogy to the Tower. We have also seen that this distinctive feature is found nowhere but in these two Keeps, and that it is probably due to Roman traditions and to the use of Roman materials. We have found accumulated evidence of the fact that the "Castle" has lost its upper half, which confirms the evidence of all other Keeps that the structure, at its present height, would have afforded an amorphous anomaly. We have also seen that the so-called "sally-port" was the only entrance in the original building, and that the large gateway was subsequently added, being covered by an outer wall. Lastly, we have learnt that the witness of Architecture coincides in all points with the witness of History, and confirms the belief that this mighty fortress was the work of the Conqueror-King.

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V.

VIEW FROM THE CASTLE.

Eudo, the Seneschal,[1] as he gazed, from the walls of his gigantic fortress, on that city which the Red King had entrusted to his watchful care, must have seen, spread before his eyes, such a view as we can scarcely picture. Double the height of the existing cupola was the tower on which he stood. To the North of the valley on which his Castle frowned, there rose before him those densely wooded ridges which bordered the Saxon land, but beyond them his eye would range far into the heart of Suffolk, and he might even discern from his eyrie the valleys of the Orwell and the Stour. To the East lay the Hundred of Tendring, dotted with villages, and belted by the sea. To the South, the estuary of the Colne, and the distant heights above the Blackwater. On the West there stretched, from Stanway to the horizon, the great "Forest of Essex." The ridge on which his Castle proudly stood, sloped down to a swampy marsh, now converted into fertile meadows, and far beneath his feet, like patches on the soil, there clustered the roofs of Colchester.

Compared with such a view as that, the present outlook is insignificant. And yet, so gradual is the ascent, and so colossal are the proportions of the building, that as we stand beneath the dome erected by Mr. Gray, and catch sight of the houses beneath us, we can hardly fail to be surprised at the height we have attained. We shall then begin to discover that the Colchester we see from the Castle is in the main an older Colchester than that which we see in the streets. The picturesque quaintness of Stuart days gave way to the prim sobriety of the formal Georgian edifice, on which the Victorian era has in turn bestowed frontages of pretentious motley. Yet, behind their modernized exteriors, the old houses have lingered on, and the sea of weather-beaten tiles, with its varying hues of red and russet-brown, carries us back, in thought, to the Colchester of Lucas and of Fairfax.

The most prominent feature in the view is the noble Church of

[1] The Norman "Dapifer" like the Saxon "disc-thegn," literally meant "dish-bearer," just as the "Pincerna" was the "cup-bearer."

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St. Nicholas, of which the design perpetuates the genius of Sir Gilbert Scott, as does its graceful spire the munificence of a citizen of Colchester. By the negligence of a workman who, at the commencement of the last century,[1] was employed in repairing the Tower of the old St. Nicholas, the keystone of an arch was loosened, and the whole tower came crashing through the roof, down into the Church below. To the left of the spire we catch sight of St. John's Gate, rising abruptly from St. John's Green. Passing Eastwards, over the high ground about Fingringhoe, the eye is arrested by a distant glimpse of the lofty tower of Brightlingsea. The Hythe Church is down behind the trees, but across the valley in which St. Botolph's stands, the outline of St. Mary Magdalene's is sharply drawn against the sky. Turning to the Church of St. James's, once the most spacious, and still the most commanding, in Colchester, we see its square battlemented tower emerging from the sombre foliage of the great Cedar of Lebanon. In the foreground, on either side of Frere Street,[2] are the tiled and gabled roofs of the Minories and the Greyfriars, and in the background, the trees of Wyvenhoe Park, sloping downwards to the Colne.

Here we are cut off from all further view, so we may now return to St. Nicholas, and proceed westward from its spire. The first object that attracts our notice is the venerable tower of Trinity, which may possibly have stood, as it stands now, in the days of Edward the Confessor.[3] Passing over the new Post Office, we are brought to St. Mary-at-the-Walls, the square mass of its Georgian pile rising above the surrounding houses. The next Church is St. Peter's, the predecessor of which, as we learn from Domesday, was the only Church in Colchester in the days before the Conquest. And now, as we leave the Cupola, and pass along the Western wall, we are looking for many a mile up the broad valley of the Colne. Far over the Hundreds of Lexden and of Hinckford extends the distant view, and it is said that the eye can at times discern a fortress[4] renowned as the cradle of twenty generations of De Veres. On a spur of the ridge which bounds the valley to the North there may be observed a low tower. It is that of Fordham Church, stripped of its lead, in the civil wars, to provide the Puritans with bullets. On a nearer spur

[1] 1708.

[2] That portion of the street was so called from running past the Priory of the Grey *Friars*.

[3] See pp. 26, 76. It resembles the tower of St. Michael's, Oxford, which is supposed to have possibly served as a watch-tower before being embodied into a Church.

[4] Castle Hedingham.

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some scattered poplars rise above the village of West Bergholt, —its Church and Hall lying out of sight on the Western slope of its "wooded hill."[1] Almost at our feet is an ancient edifice, crowned by a solitary gable, and known as the Chapel of St. Helen.[2] Its true origin is lost in obscurity. Morant's statement that it was restored by Eudo, in the year 1076,[3] rests solely on the discredited "Chronicle," but it is certain that in after years he bestowed it on his Abbey of St. John. Its ecclesiastical character, which had been preserved with difficulty, was wholly lost at the Reformation, and the Chapel which an Empress was believed to have founded, became the storeroom of an upholsterer.

The Avenue of Elms on the Terrace Walk,[4] which encompasses the Castle on the North and East, confines our view, as we stand on the Northern wall, to the area of the Castle Bailey. Immediately beneath us is the spot to which tradition points as the scene of the death of Lucas and of Lisle. Beyond the ramparts is a sharp declivity sloping down to the Roman wall, and around it stretch the broad meadows, which from time immemorial have been "Castle Land."[5] There is the Sheep's head Field, (of which a former Lord of the Castle received the tithes in *Oysters*),[6] and beneath it, low down by the river, there lies the "Rowen Mead," recalling by its name the obsolete husbandry practised in the days of the Tudors.[7] Across the Colne, the "King's Meadow," divided[8] to this day by boundary-stones which may have been

[1] "Berg-holt"—"wooded hill."

[2] The street in which it stands derived from it the name of St. Helen's or ("Tennants") Lane.

[3] A neat memorial Tablet has now been affixed to the Chapel, but it unfortunately perpetuates, with Morant, the Helena delusion.

[4] This Avenue was planted by Mr. Gray. The ramparts had previously been bare, and were known as the Castle Hills. It formerly terminated in a noble Cedar of Lebanon, which was uprooted by a storm a few years ago. An avenue was also planted by him on the Western rampart, then considerably higher (see p. 69).

[5] See Chapter VII.

[6] "In lieu of Tithes for ye said Field, Tenant used to send yearly to London two whole barrels of Oysters to the Norfolks."

Fol. 2. Bill & Answer, 30th May, 1690.

"Then spare it for rowen till Michel be past.
To lengthen thy dairie, no better thou hast."

Tusser's "*Five hundred points of good husbandrie.*"

Tusser wrote in the middle of the 16th Century, but we find it described as the "Rowhen Mead" in a roll of 1497.

[7] "*Rowen* is a field kept up till after Michaelmas that the corn left on the ground may sprout into green."

[8] See Chap. VII.

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set by our heathen forefathers,[1] was once the foreground to the dark masses of the desolate King's Wood.[2]

This singular district has an almost unique history, and as at one time its Royal Wood was annexed to the Royal Castle,[3] it cannot be left unnoticed. Covering the entire space between the Ipswich and the Nayland Roads, it was bounded on the North by Langham, Boxted, and the Horkesleys, while, on the South, its groves extended almost to the waters of the Colne.[4] This wide tract of woodland was jealously[5] guarded by the Crown, and its precincts have retained to our own days a strangely deserted aspect.[6] It was still densely wooded when, in 1534, it was made over to the Corporation by Henry VIII. for the nominal sum of £100. Such was the origin of the "Severalls" Estate, a name derived from the land being held "in severalty" (*i.e.*, severed off), as distinguished from that which was "Common." It is a curious fact, and one not generally known, that this estate was afterwards associated with the author of "Robinson Crusoe."[7]

But there is yet one object remaining to be described. When the officers of the Ordnance Survey had their station on the summit of the Castle, they communicated by signals with a

[1] The East-Saxon kingdom was heathen for at least a century.

[2] A far more celebrated "King's-Wood" extended over South Gloucestershire, and was the Royal Chase of the West-Saxon Kings, as this may have been of the East-Saxon. It was disafforested about 1215, but was famous for its "Kingswood Gang" (of deerstealers) down to this century (Ellacombe's *History of Bitton*, 1881, Exeter).

[3] See pp. 40, 45, and Chapter VII.

[4] See its Perambulation in Morant.

[5] From a curious document among Mr. Gray's papers we learn that in the reign of Edward I., John le Bretton, of Boxtead, claimed a prescriptive right to pasturage in the King's Wood, and had turned in 26 pigs of his own, and 33 belonging to his Villeins. The claim (which may be traced to its having once been the Common Wood) was strenuously resisted by the Crown.

[6] Its singularly uninhabited character is at once visible in old maps of Essex, and will account for the small population and wide extent of the Parish of Mile-End, "Langham Moor," "Boxted Heath," "Kingswood Heath," and "Horkesley Heath," are names which testify that its area, even when cleared of timber, was long unreclaimed. The High Woods are practically the only remains of this once extensive woodland.

[7] The Rev. William Smythies, Rector of Mile-End, was an old and valued friend of Daniel Defoe's. Through his influence, the brilliant Demagogue (who was well acquainted with Colchester) obtained from the Corporation (on the 6th August, 1722) a 99 years' lease of "the Severalls" on very favourable terms (£120 a year). This lease he secured to one of his daughters, and it afterwards descended to his grandson. This circumstance, which had escaped the notice of Chadwick and earlier biographers, is fully detailed by Mr. Lee in his *Life of Defoe* (1869.)

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party stationed on the Tower of the Church of Stoke. The Churches of Brightlingsea and of Stoke are precisely equidistant from the Castle, and, in each case, their lofty proportions render them visible to the naked eye.[1] For many a mile round Stoke-by-Nayland the landscape has no more striking feature than that noble tower which Constable loved, and in the shadow of which are laid to their rest the ashes of Capels and of Howards.[2]

If we would endeavour to picture to ourselves the famous siege of Colchester, I know of no means by which it can be so vividly realised, as by viewing it in imagination, on some given day, from the walls of Colchester Castle. Let us then, for a few moments, take our stand on one of its massive Towers, still preserving somewhat of their ancient grandeur,[3] and untouched as yet by the spoiler's hand. It is Thursday, the 29th of June, 1648.[4] A fortnight had elapsed last Tuesday since Fairfax, on

[1] It is said that, with a telescope, it is possible to see the hands of the great clock on Stoke Tower.

[2] William Capel, a younger son of John Capel, of Stoke-by-Nayland became member for London and Lord Mayor (1503), and was knighted. From him descend the Earls of Essex.

Sir Robert Howard inherited Tendring Park from his mother, Alice, heiress of Tendring, 2nd wife of Sir John Howard. He founded the greatness of his family by his marriage with Margaret de Mowbray co-heiress of the Duke of Norfolk. The Howards resided, and were buried, at Stoke for some generations.

[3] It was shown above (p. 93) that, even as late as this, the walls must have been considerably higher than at present. Thus they would have commanded a wider view.

[4] The details of this sketch are all taken from contemporary narratives, but I have only given references in special cases. A spirited account of the siege will be found in Markham's *Life of the great Lord Fairfax* (1870). Mr. Markham also came forward at the Colchester meeting of the Archæological Institute (1876) to read a Paper on the subject, and this Paper was subsequently published in Vol. XXXIV. of the *Arch. Journ.* (1877). As, however, the Paper in question was practically a *réchauffé* of the account contained in the *Life*, it did not add to our knowledge, nor did it even correct the inaccuracies which are so painfully evident in the latter. It is much to be deplored that what ought to have proved a most valuable history of the siege, has only served, I fear, to display a singular ignorance of the ground. "The general outlines," as he truly observes, "are but little altered. Nearly every spot mentioned by the narrators of the events of the siege can easily be identified and, in many instances, even the appearance of the localities is little altered. So that a detailed examination of the positions of the besieged and of the lines occupied by the besiegers will long continue to be very interesting, as well as a profitable historical study." And yet the elaborate plan, which Mr. Markham has inserted in his *Life*, and which purports to be that of the Siege of Colchester, is simply a topographical curiosity. "The narrative of the Siege of Colchester," he tells us in his Preface," is illustrated by a Plan showing all the positions mentioned in the text, which has been

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arriving before the Town, made that furious effort to carry it by a desperate *coup-de-main*. Narrowly foiled in this attempt he drew off to Lexden, and sat down doggedly to watch our movements till the arrival of reinforcements should enable him to invest us in due form.[1] Meanwhile, he took precautions against

prepared after a detailed examination of the ground." Here are some of its peculiarities. That hotly contested point, "Grimston's House," is actually placed in Head Street, *inside Head-Gate*, whereas it stood, out in the country on the site of the Crouched Friars. This blunder alone would make nonsense of much of the fighting, and betrays an ignorance not only of Morant (whom Mr. Markham refers to), but actually of the well-known siege map of the period, of which copies are to be found in the British Museum, and in the Bodleian Library, while one is to be seen in a conspicuous position at the entrance of the Colchester Museum! It is absolutely necessary to expose Mr. Markham's inaccuracies, lest his Plan (and the corresponding statements in the text), should be accepted as trustworthy evidence. Even such a landmark as Fort Essex is hopelessly misplaced, and carried the "Sholand" with it. A comparison with the siege map (a reduced copy will be found in Vol. I. of the *Antiquary* 1880) will show that Mr. Markham has placed "the line" impossibly close to the Town, (the intervening area being considerable), and that Fort Ingoldsby was not on the north, but on the south of the river. A certain "Whalley's Battery" figures down in St. Botolph's, but what it is supposed to be doing there, or how it got there, or why a Colonel of Dragoons should have a battery at all, is more than anyone can tell. A wave of Mr. Markham's wand removes the Berryfields from *within* the walls, and, placing them without hesitation "between Magdalen Street and East Hill," proceeds to confuse them with "*Borough* fields," out on the London Road! Another wave transports "the Warren" from its site, opposite the present Hospital, into the midst of the King's meadow, north of the Middle Mill. St. John's Green, in front of the Abbey Gate, is removed to the rear of the grounds and set down in the Abbey Field. The "Almshouses" appear on the wrong side of the London Road. The famous King's Head is also, as we shall see, incomprehensibly misplaced, and yet "nearly every spot mentioned by the narrators of the siege can easily be identified"! It would have been better not to have attempted such a map than, by placing it with such confidence in a standard work, to mislead historical students unacquainted with the locality.

[1] The key to the strategy of Fairfax is to be found in the fate of the Royalist movement in other parts of England. When he first reached Colchester, there were risings all over the country, and every soldier of the Regular Army who could be spared was needed to keep down the people. Hence his natural anxiety to carry the Town off hand, at whatever cost, in order to set his forces free. Baffled in this, he did not lose a moment in preparing to capture the Town by a vigorous siege, but by the time that he was ready to storm, the pressing danger to his party had passed away, and the energy and genius of Cromwell had trodden out the spreading flame. Thus he could afford, after all, to spare the lives of his men, and to "wait for the pear to drop into his mouth." It is perhaps hardly realised that he had meanwhile been conducting a regular siege, and pushing his approaches in the most approved manner according to the military treatises of the day. Even the distance of Fort Essex from the Walls was in strict accordance with rule. It would have been incorrect to place it so near as in Markham's plan.

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the chance of our escaping by lining the roads with horse-guards, and then set to work at once with a view to the coming siege. Opening his first parallel on the south of the London Road, he proceeded to raise that large Fort which we see yonder in the Sholand.[1] They call it 'Fort Essex.' To its right, just above the Water-House, is the redoubt which they have planted on the Warren, and which sweeps the High Street with its fire.[2] The General has arranged his forces in the shape of a crescent, its centre covering Lexden,[3] its right flank resting on the Layer Road, and its left on the river, where Colonel Ewers, as we can see from here, has already raised a formidabe work just above the Sheepen.[4] Below him in the meadows is Fort Ingoldsby with its guns already playing against the North Gate, and behind it is the bridge of boats which they finished last Monday when we could see the Green Regiment,[5] with Shambrooke at its head, marching across it to Mile End.[6] Fairfax's own head-quarter's are fixed at Lexden, that he may cut us off from London, where

[1] Mr. Markham speaks of it (see above) as "an earthwork in the Sholand, *facing St. Mary's Church*, which was named Essex Fort." But the Sholand (see Chap. VII) lies wholly to the south of the London Road, and Fort Essex is shown by the Siege Map to have done so also. It is curious that the sites of all these forts seem now to be wholly lost. Fort Essex (levelled in 1742) must have stood on the rising ground, just behind the Grammar School, and was placed so as to command the S.W. angle of the walls, and also to defend the London Road leading to Fairfax's head-quarters. It held 1,000 men.

[2] "There were two batteries on the W. side of the Town, the 1st in the Sholand, and the 2nd in the Warren or hanging-field" (Morant's MSS).

"The next night (16 June) they entered ground upon a hill called the Warren" *Carter* p. 139.

"We have now almost finished our Work on the hill, a little above the Water-House, within musket shot of the town, and commands the High Street." *Perfect Weekly Account* (June 14-21).

The "Water House" is shown in the siege map. This Redoubt must have stood just behind the cottage now in Bunting's nursery grounds.

[3] "The Rebells' forces lye all of a heape on this side of the Towne." *Mercurius Elencticus* (21-28 June, 1648).

[4] "The line" (so often alluded to) was thrown up under cover of the fire from Fort Essex. Its distance from the walls varied from a quarter to a third of a mile, that being then "battering distance" for Artillery. It is one of the very few mistakes in Mr. Townsend's *Siege of Colchester* that he places the line "in some portions as far as one or two miles" (p. 30). Fort Ewers was placed at the North end of the ridge sloping down to the Sheepen, to cover "the line" along the low ground and the passage of the river.

[5] "The Tower Guards."

[6] Where they established communications with the Suffolk forces, and "took post" by old Mile End Church, in front of which they threw up "Fort Fothergill."

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a rising is expected in our favour.[1] His guns are parked on the high ground in rear of Lexden Church. On his right he has placed the Essex train bands. Harlackenden, of Earls Colne, commands the horse. The Saffron Walden men are led by Cooke of Great Chishall,[2] and our restless opponent, Colonel Sir Thomas Honeywood,[3] has brought with him his Coggeshall regiment.

Nor has the enemy been idle on the East. We are still bringing up supplies from the Port of Hythe, which we hold in force, but Whalley is working his way towards our outpost at Grinstead, and, if he can seize the hill,[4] the Hythe will lie at his mercy. His active horsemen fired our windmills last Sunday night.[5] We sent Tuke down with a detachment, to secure the mouth of the Colne, but the Roundheads arrived an hour before him, and seized the blockhouse on Mersea Point. So our retreat is thus cut off by sea, and though the sailors have risen for the King, and supplies can be sent us by water, they will now be intercepted at Mersea.[6] Up to last week, however, the

[1] "We make all the haste we can with our line to the end we may spare more horse and foot if the desperate party about London should attempt to raise the siege." (Rushworth, 4th July. Cf. Whitelocke, Grignan, Hallam, &c.)

[2] Visitation of Essex 1634.

[3] Of Marks Hall, *not* "of Charing," as Mr. Markham erroneously states (*Live* p. 315) thus confusing him with his half-brother Sir John. This Sir Thomas was a vigorous partisan, but refused to sit on the commission for trying the King. He was a Committee-man for Essex, and a Colonel of the County Militia. It has not been noticed that Fairfax left him in command at Colchester after the siege. He subsequently led his Essex regiment into action at Worcester fight, and became one of Cromwell's Peers. He was a brother-in-law of that famous Republican, Sir Henry Vane.

[4] He did seize it two days later and a redoubt named after him was at once raised round the Church. This made the Hythe untenable.

[5] Diary. The beseiged supplied the want by starting horse and hand-mills in the Town.

[6] The Mersea blockhouse (at East Mersea Point) was an important post and had been early fortified by the Parliament and armed with five guns. Fairfax, as an experienced General, occupied it with Zanchy's dragoons on the 14th, as soon as his repulse had made a regular siege necessary, young Tuke, of Layer Marney, galloped down from Colchester, with some horse, but was just too late to intercept them. This was on Wednesday, Meanwhile, two of the Royalist frigates, one of 10 and the other of 11 guns, sailed into Colne from Kent, and opened communication with the besieged. Peacock, who commanded a squadron at Harwich in the interest of "the Army Party," having ascertained from Fairfax that the blockhouse was in his hands, consented to detach three ships, and on Sunday the 18th they arrived in Colne, and engaged with the frigates in "a very desperate fight, discharging several broadsides, and often upon boarding, but still

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Ipswich and Harwich Roads were still clear, and the Tendring Hundred open to our foragers. So as long as the Suffolk troops refused to cross the Stour, the sheep and the kine came leisurely in, and Fairfax chafed in vain. But that is at an end now. The Suffolk forces—reluctantly,[1] we are told,—marched in from Cattaway, last Saturday, between two and three thousand strong, and their first work, Fort Suffolk,[2] is already rising on the Ipswich Road. We can catch glimpses of their pickets, moving among the High Woods, but the main body lies out of sight, echeloned behind the ridge. Lawyer Gurdon,[3] has hurried from the Commons to put himself at the head of the Cavalry. Young Sir Thomas Barnardiston,[4] commands a regiment of

repulsed by each other with exceeding gallantry and resolution, the decks being well manned with halfe pikes and other necessaries for war. This conflict continued for the space of halfe an hour, till at the last *a party of our Dragoons were sent from Mersey Fort*, who joyned with the seamen and fought resolutely; but at the last, the victory was given to our part, for by the assistance of the Land forces, the seamen boarded the enemies' ships." ("*A great victory obtained by his Excellency*," &c.). In the meantime the firing had been heard in Colchester, and the "Boot and Saddle" *(Bota Silla)* had been sounded in the Castle yard. The Royalist horse were soon mounted and riding hard for Brightlingsea. Down East Hill, up Clingoe Hill, catching a glimpse of the fight from the heights above Wyvenhoe, down again to Alresford Creek, splashing hurriedly through the ford, and galloping at last into Brightlingsea—just too late. "The prize was taken ashore before they came" (*Perfect Weekly Intelligencer*), and lay beneath the guns of Mersea Fort. Turning the heads of their weary steeds they jogged back slowly to Wyvenhoe, "a village they had hitherto possessed." ("*A great victory*," &c.). The house which had been occupied by this outlying picket is still known as "the Garrison," and is famous for its "pargetted" wall. But the ever watchful Fairfax had despatched some troops of cavalry to cut them off on their return, and the Puritans charging down the narrow street, burst upon the helpless Royalists, who had halted for rest and food. Sixteen were killed on the spot, and forty were taken prisoners ("*A great victory*," &c.) A detailed account of this affair is inserted here not only because it has been strangely ignored, but also because it affords a unique instance of a naval engagement being decided by a detachment of dragoons. The nearest parallel is, of course, the capture (the reality of which is now doubted) by Pichegru's cavalry of the ice-bound Dutch fleet (1795).

[1] "Some scruples they made touching their marching out of their own County," (Rushworth. See also Whitelocke, 24th June.)

[2] On the high ground, in front of the road, just beyond the present railroad.

[3] Brampton Gurdon Esq., of Letton, Barrister-at-Law, M.P. for Sudbury, 1640-1654, younger son of Gurdon, of Assington. Ancestor of the Gurdons of Letton and Gurdon-Rebows of Wyvenhoe.

[4] Son of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Knt., of Ketton Hall, ("one of the most eminent patriots of his time, and the 23rd Knight of his family," [Fairclough]. Five times member for Suffolk, and once for Sudbury, who

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green-coats,[1] and so does Blois of Grundisburgh,[2] his equally zealous kinsman. The two remaining regiments are under Fothergill and Hervey.

But though the besiegers are closing in, we are not despondent, for we have supplies enough now to last us till Holland relieves us from London, or Hamilton and Langdale from the North. Meanwhile we are preventing Fairfax and his veterans from overawing the Parliament, in London,[3] or from taking the open field to fight for the tyranny of the Sword. Nor are we, on our side, inactive. We found the town with no flanker but the old Fort,[4] or Balkon,—as old, they tell us, as the days of the Romans,—and with no glacis (indeed the tops of some houses are on a level with the parapet), but we have twenty cannon in all, most of them in battery on the curtain, but some in a small crown-work we are constructing, to oppose Fort Suffolk, at the North-East angle of the walls.[5] Then we have our saker, planted in St. Mary's steeple,[6] which annoys the

died 25th July, 1653). He was member for St. Edmondsbury, and his father for Suffolk, in 1648. (*List of Knights and Burgesses*, printed for J. Wright, 1643). Young Blois married his sister.

[1] "Colchester's Teares."

[2] Afterwards a Member for Suffolk in the Protector's Parliaments.

[3] The Commons were taking advantage of the absence of the Army to shake off its dictation and act freely, but the fall of Colchester was the death-blow to their liberty. "A letter from Fairfax" (I quote from the *History* of Mr. J. R. Green, the champion of the Puritans, and the bitter opponent of the Stuarts), "announced the march of his army upon London. 'We shall know now,' said Vane, as the troops took their post round the Houses of Parliament, 'who is on the side of the King, and who on the side of the people.' But the terror of the Army proved weaker among their members than the agonised loyalty which strove to save Charles, and an immense majority in both Houses still voted for the acceptance of the terms he had offered. The next morning saw Colonel Pride at the door of the House of Commons with a list of 40 members of the majority in his hands. The Council of Officers had resolved to exclude them, and as each member made his appearance, he was arrested, and put in confinement. 'By what right do you act?' a member asked. '*By the right of the Sword*,' Hugh Peters is said to have replied."

[4] Also known as the Royal (or St. Mary's) Fort. It was the only bastion available for Artillery. The small ones now remaining in the grounds of East Hill House were still crowned, at the time of the siege, with ruinous towers. (Carter p. 203.)

[5] At the lower corner of the old Botanic Garden. This is shown on the siege-map and confirmed by Morant's map, a century later (1748), on which the mound of the work is still visible.

[6] Mr. Markham strangely supposes that the Church, as we now see it, was standing at the time of the siege. "Overhanging the west wall," he says (p. 311), "was the church of St. Mary's-at-the-Walls, with a strong square tower of the same materials as the town walls themselves, having

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enemy vastly by raking his trenches, and yet he dare not retaliate, for fear of hitting the King's Head,[1] where the twenty Members of the Parliament's Committee sit quaking for their lives. They have small appetite for the hot pies with which they are so liberally supplied by their friends outside,[2] and have sent to implore Fairfax not to fire so perilously near them, hoisting an appealing flag to impress the fact upon his mind.

Our only danger is on the South. It was well enough for the Romans, who had no artillery to fear, to select Colchester as their fortress, but, as against artillery the town is practically unfortified, for if the ridge above St. Botolph's should fall into the enemy's hands, the whole position would be commanded. We have, however, secured the hill, on either flank, by fortifying the Hythe Church [3] and Lucas House,[4] and its centre is covered by Barrington's,[5] where we have a strong outpost.

But the enemy are making a move to-day, and are pushing nearer to the town. Under cover of the fire from Fort Essex,

massive butresses at its angles." But Morant distinctly states (1748 Ed., II., 4), that St. Mary's "*as it is now*, was rebuilt in the year 1713, and beginning of 1714. *The old Church stood more in the middle of the Churchyard.*"

[1] The chief Inn of Colchester, even in the days of the Tudors, (Foxe's Martyrs). It stood in Head Street, on the west side (where now stands Head-Gate Court), and was thus passed by all who arrived from London. Mr. Markham erroneously places it "in the Balkon" (*Life*, p. 311, &c.), where there was no room for such a large building, where it would have been out of the way of all traffic, and where the Royalists' battery was actually planted!

[2] "Hot pies and dainties being sent in." (Carter). Compare Whitelocke (16th June) "that the Trumpet sent by the General into the town to see in what condition Sir W. Masham, and the other gentlemen, prisoners, were, returned *that they were in a reasonable good condition.*" By the side of this, it is amusing to read that twenty Royalists, (among them Bishop Wren, Lord Cleveland, Mr. Ashburnham, and young Capel) were seized and sent down to Fairfax, "to be kept in like harsh usage as Sir William Masham and others are kept in." (Whitelocke.)

[3] The Hythe Church and St. John's were both stormed by the besiegers on the 12th July.

[4] Lucas House, known as "St. John's," played a prominent part in the siege, and should be carefully compared with the position of St. Mary's Abbey and Manor House in the Siege of York, 1644, which formed, like St. John's, an important outpost, outside the walls. It is shown, by the Siege-Map, to have stood in the South-West Angle of the Abbey grounds (i.e., towards the "Abbey-field"). The remains of the Abbey itself stood towards the opposite corner, (between the House and St. Giles' Church). The Lucases, at St. John's, and the Grimstons, at the Crouched Friars, had headed the rival parties in the town till the Rebellion. Hence the sackings of St. John's by the riotous mob of Colchester.

[5] See p. 121.

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their Pioneers are breaking ground on the Maldon Road,[1] beneath the very noses of our men in the Friery.[2] This will never do, and we can hear the rattle of the musketry as they pepper away at the sappers, while Barkstead[3] draws out his men into the Place of Arms, and returns the fire. It's growing too hot to last. Fairfax has brought all his guns into play, and Grimston's House, dimly seen amidst the smoke, is being battered down about the ears of the garrison. Moreover, the position will soon be outflanked, and their retreat cut off; so,—firing the house as they go,—they fall back upon Crouch Street, abandoning the post.

We have hurriedly got together some troops of horse, and sent them rattling down East Hill to create a diversion on the opposite side. But Hatcher has dismounted his Dragoons[4] and placed them behind the hedges. The Cavalry find themselves in a trap and are galloping back over the Bridge.

We shall have to concentrate our forces now. The outposts

[1] The work which the besiegers erected here was called Fort Barkstead, and stood just above "the Maldon Lane" on the south side of what is now Creffeild Road.

[2] "The Friery" or "Grimston's House," so strangely misplaced by Mr. Markham, stood on the site of Blatch Square. This property, now bounded by the Lexden Road, the Maldon Road and Hospital Road, was originally "the Crouched Friars," but was seized at the Reformation. It was bought from the Stephens family by the Grimstons, 22 June, 1637. Sir Harbottle G., who now owned it, was too remarkable a Colchester character to be passed over. His father, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Knt., of Bradfield Hall, M.P. for Essex, was created a Bart. 1612, but sided with the Parliament in the Civil War. He died 1647, aged 70. His son, young Sir Harbottle, became Recorder of Colchester, 1638, and M.P. for Colchester, 1640. As member, he interfered to protect the rioters who had plundered St. John's, the seat of his rivals the Lucases. But they had their revenge now, for not only did he lose his Colchester house, but Bradfield Hall, his family seat, was occupied and plundered by the Royalists, before Fairfax had cooped them in. Like so many other zealous Parliamentarians, however, he refused to side with the Army when they violated the Parliament and slew the King. Shortly after the siege, he resigned the Recordership, informing the Corporation that the education of his son compelled him to go abroad. He reaped his reward in being chosen Speaker of the "Healing Parliament" (1660) and becoming Master of the Rolls. He died 1683, aged 89. His portrait (with that of his daughter, Lord Verulam's ancestress) is among those at Birch Hall.

[3] Col. Barkstead had been a goldsmith in the Strand. He was one of the Regicides. (Ludlow's *Memoirs*, III. 102).

[4] The "Dragons" as they were originally called (Markham's *Soldier's Accidence*, 1643) were "a kind of footmen on horsebacke." Each troop was 110 strong, ten holding the horses of the other hundred, when they dismounted.

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at Barrington's are too exposed, and must be drawn off to-night, under cover of the darkness. We shall fire the house,[1] for the family are bitter Parliamentarians, and Captain Barrington himself is serving with his dragoons in the Leaguer.

The scene has changed. We are once more standing on the Castle Walls, but it is the morning of Thursday the 27th July, and the past month has decided the fate of Colchester. From our elevated post, as we emerge from the great staircase, we can trace, almost throughout its length, the dark line of rampart.[2] From North Bridge to East Bridge it hems us in, broken only by fort and battery. Gladly would we escape towards the North, where Hamilton must be hastening to our relief,[3] but by ill-luck our retreat is cut off, for the floods are out in the valley of the Colne.[4] Our leaders are at bay now, and they are men to fight to the last. In this same month of July, four summers ago, Lucas and Fairfax were face to face in the battle array on Marston Moor,[5] and once more the fortune of war has placed them face to face. One by one our hopes have been shattered, and the besiegers were able to announce to us within the space of only ten days, the defeats of our friends in Yorkshire and in Surrey, at Pembroke and at St. Neot's, in Northumberland and in Kent.

Meanwhile the enemy is preparing to storm, by breaching the west wall from Fort Ewers and Fort Ingoldsby. We too, are

[1] This house must have belonged to one of the great Essex family of Barrington of Hatfield-Broad-Oak. Sir Thomas Barrington, Bart., the head of the family was first cousin to Oliver Cromwell. He was a Committee-Man for Essex, and sat for Colchester in the Long Parliament till his death, 1645. His son, Sir John Barrington, was also a Committee-man. His brothers were active in the cause of Cromwell, and his sister was married to Sir W. Masham, Bart., then M.P. for Essex, and chief of the captured Committee. There is an entry in Rushworth (21st Sept.) that £1,000 compensation was voted to Mr. Barrington for the loss of this house, to be paid out of the estate of Major Smith, "who joined with the army in Colchester."

[2] Known as the "line of circumvallation." It had been finally completed on the 2nd July.

[3] "Letters produced signed with his (Hamilton's) own hand, to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, concerning the carrying on of the design in England, the passages touching *his friends in Colchester*." (Whitelocke p. 377.) "The King's party in Colchester were also much encouraged with hopes of relief from the Scots army" (Ludlow's *Memoirs* I. 259).

[4] "The enemy by reason of the great flood cannot escape over the river." Colchester letter in Rushworth. See also *The present great action in Essex* (1648). "This judgement of rain those bottles of heaven which God hath poured out upon them in their trenches."

[5] See Mr. Markham's Plan of the Battle (*Life* p. 165).

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making ready to receive them by digging trenches behind it,[1] and yonder, the smoke is rising from the houses in Balkon Lane which we are firing to clear the glacis. On the south, the hill is completely in their hands, and their great guns are thundering from Fort Needham,[2] which lies full in view on the crest of the ridge. Its plunging fire has reduced St. Botolph's to a heap of ruins, and the advanced battery, which they have planted on St. John's Green, has brought down the steeple of St. Mary's. As we pass to the East Wall, we see in the foreground, peeping out among the trees, the gables of Shaw's,[3] and, beyond them, to the left, those of the Greyfriars,[4] with puffs of smoke rising above the roof. And now there is a lull in the cannonade, and we can hear the dropping musketry fire on East Hill, where the Roundheads, under cover of Fort Whaley, have seized the Mill and crossed the river, and are exchanging shots with our guards at the East Gate.[5]

As we peer over the Northern Wall—cautiously, lest we draw the enemy's fire[6]—we see how the Suffolk forces, assisted by the regulars, have been pressing down upon us from the Hill, and have thrown up an earthwork, named after Colonel Blois, on the

[1] The besieged kept large cauldrons of pitch simmering all night, on the curtain, ready to ladle on to the "forlorns" when they advanced to the storm. (See Carter p. 180,—"with long ladles to cast it over,"—and Rushworth). This pitiful device shows the straits to which the defenders were reduced.

[2] Fort Needham stood on the Mersea Road, just at the upper angle of the Abbey garden.

[3] "Shaw's," as it was called, stood on the site of the Holly Trees. Its owner Sir John Shaw, Recorder of Colchester, is confused by Morant with another of the name, and said to have been an active Royalist. The Rev. E. Hickeringill, whom he persecuted (under Charles II.) disproved this in so amusing a paper (Tanner MSS.) that I must quote from it:—"This Proteus was a Councellor before he was a Captayne against Charles I, then a Committee-man, &c. And in all these nauseous vicissitudes the chamelion was of the colour that was nearest him, being sometime for the King, then for the Rump, then for Oliver, then for Queen Dick "(Richard Cromwell?)" then for the Committee of slavery and the keepers of the liberties of England, and then for the King again at last." Sir John, however, recovered £500 damages from the town, in 1677, for his ejection from the Recordership (MSS. House of Lords). He also sued for his wages as Member for Colchester. The Shaw family held the property for some time. The old house was taken down by Mr. Round's ancestress, who erected the present one on its site in 1718.

[4] The old Greyfriars, then belonging to the Lemyng family, (ardent Royalists) stood back some distance from the road.

[5] It was in one of the constant skirmishes on East Hill that those soldiers fell whose coffins were recently discovered.

[6] The besieged set a mill going on the Castle wall a fortnight later (11 Aug.) but it was at once knocked over by a shot from the Fort.

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very edge of the floods, and just opposite our only Fort. Their works are spread out before us as on a map, for there is not a tree between us and them.[1] There, on the rising ground by Mile End Parsonage, Colonel Fothergill has raised his fort, and here, down in King's Meadow, we are looking right into Fort Rainsborough. We smile as we think of the fanatical seaman who commands it,—they have transformed him into a Colonel now,—for we remember how he flourished his sword at us from the leads of Deal Castle[2] till the revolt of his ships to our cause drove him in terror to Town. Fort Rainsborough and the other northern works are so placed as to command the Mill ford, the only one by which we could escape. Its guns are still playing against the Mill itself, which our men continue to hold under cover of our battery at the Rye-Gate.[3] Eager to destroy our Mills, in hopes of starving us out,[4] they stormed and were firing this very Mill, the night before last, when our captains,[5] calling for Volunteers, sallied out from the Rye Gate, recaptured the Mill, and quenched the fire.

But there is a stir behind us in the town. We hurry over to the opposite side of the Castle, and are just in time to catch sight[6] of Lord Capel, his halbert on his shoulder,[7] as he marches quickly past at the head of a dismounted troop.[8] We wonder what can have brought these men from their camp, for they have hitherto been held in reserve, only to be employed in case of emergency.[9] A glance at the enemy's line reveals the cause. They are throwing up a fresh work in advance of their position, just in front of St. Mary Magdalene's.[10] If they can plant their

[1] The "Castle hills" were of course quite bare at that time, and continued so for another century.

[2] Carter's *Kentish Rising*, 53.

[3] The Rye (or River) Gate led to the Middle Mill.

[4] The destruction of the Mills was the great object at Pembroke, a month before.

[5] "A party of fresh men with Halberts and Sithes, most of them gentlemen." Carter.

[6] There were then no houses between the Castle and the High Street.

[7] "Marching himself a-foot, a Halbert on his shoulder, in the head of his company." Carter 167.

[8] "A troop of Lord Capell's." (Diary, 27th July.)

[9] Carter p. 187.

[10] The position of this work is clearly marked on the siege-map, and confirms Carter's statement that it was "*over against Berryfields*" (p. 177). Mr. Markham's expression—"a redoubt was thrown up *in Berryfields*, between Magdalen Street and the East Hill"—is of course incorrect, for, as is well known, the "Berry Fields" (formerly divided into *two* fields by the Parish Boundary) constitutes the lower portion of the grounds of East Hill House. They took their name from the ancient family of Beriffe, as

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guns on that commanding spot they will be able at once to breach the wall where it runs round the Berryfields.[1] So Lord Capel is on his way to sally from the Gate, and lead his men against the hill. A sorry sight are these Hertfordshire yeomen as they trudge past us shouldering their scythes, and grumbling at the hard fate which has deprived them of their sabres and their mounts.[2] For they are reminded as they pass this very spot how, within the walls of the Castle Bailey—from which they had trotted out more than once to beat up the enemy's quarters,[3] —their steeds were paraded a week ago, and more than two hundred of them delivered to the Commissaries to be led away to the Slaughter-house.[4]

The tall figure of their leader,—taller by a head than any of his troopers[5]—is still in sight as he strides on his way, and we picture to ourselves that well-known countenance, so noble, yet so austere,[6] as we remember it kindled with the light of battle, on that memorable day[7] when the scattered Royalists came streaming round the corner into Head Street and the rising shouts of "God's our help" proclaimed that the Puritans were upon us.[8] Then was seen that same tall figure breasting alone the stream. Barkstead and his men were in hot pursuit,[9] and we could see, mingled among our straggling files, the glittering cuirasses of the soldiery, as they followed at the heels of the

did the street running beneath them, which was known under the Plantagenets as the "Berelane." The Berryfields were a hop-garden in the days of Elizabeth.

[1] "The enemy planted four great pieces of battering cannon against Berryfields." *Carter.*

[2] "The troops are discontented at the loss of their horses, not knowing how to get others, nor well liking the service of mowing with their new devised long sithes." Rushworth. Cf. Carter (p. 166). "The private troopers (took up) long sithes ready fitted with long staves for the service." It is interesting to observe that similar weapons were provided 37 years later, for Monmouth's infantry in the rising of 1685. They were last employed in 1797 to repel the French descent on Wales.

[3] See Carter's account of the sally of the 15th. "The horse were all drawn to a rendezvous in the Castle-yard late in the night," &c.

[4] "They were again drawn into the Castle yard." Carter. So too the Diary. The Commissaries accounted for 730 horses in all, killed by them for the Troops.

[5] "By the head taller than other men." Clarendon.

[6] "With an austere countenance." Whitelock.

[7] Tuesday, 13 June.

[8] "The Word of the King's Forces at the Fight was *Charles* Ours, *God's our help.*" Diary.

[9] "Barkstead, with his Regiment entered the suburbs as far as Headgate." Diary.

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fugitives. The orange ensign drew nearer and nearer ;[1] another moment and the Gate[2] would have been carried, and pursued and pursuers would have entered the town together. Capel, quick to perceive the danger, called on Farre[3] to rally his men, and, hastily snatching up a pike, charged on foot again and again, clearing his way through the surging crowd.[4] "Charles! Charles!" he shouted, and even amidst the uproar we could hear the rallying-cry. Packed between the gabled houses, the armed mob grew thicker and thicker as more soldiers kept pouring in; faster and faster the drums were beating; Needham was hurrying to Barkstead's aid; if the gate was to be saved, not an instant could be lost; Lord Capel himself was the last to enter; the iron bolt was missing, and he coolly pinned it with his cane[5]

We are still standing on the Castle Wall, we are still listening to the roar of the batteries, but the Royalist hero has gone forth to battle,—Lord Capel has passed from our sight.[6]

[1] "Must these their orange-colour ensigns reare
Before your Maidstone and your Rochester?"
Halesiados: a message from the Normans, 1648.

[2] This was the Headgate, (anciently Heved-Gate) taken down in 1753. Its site is marked on the wall of the house.

[3] "That they went under Colonel Farre and when he and his men fled he got to the gate." (Rushworth.) Farre was a Roundhead who had joined the Royalists.

[4] Carter p. 185. It was finely said of this deed, in allusion to Lord Capel's Arms (Gu. a lion rampant between 3 cross-crosslets)

"Here, lionlike, undaunted Capel stood
Beset with crosses in a field of blood."

[5] Carter, p. 185.

[6] This sally was for a time successful, the besiegers being driven back into the Magdalen Street houses. But reinforcements were hurried up, and the little troop of Royalists found themselves outnumbered.

Mr. Markham not only confuses the action by placing the redoubt down in St. Botolph's, instead of in front of St. Mary Magdalen's, but inaccurately assigns to this skirmish, at noon on the 27th July, an incident which is expressly stated to have happened on the evening of the 19th August. "On this occasion," he says (*Siege of Colchester*) "Lord Fairfax, who was always somewhat too reckless in exposing his person in action, had a very narrow escape." The version of this incident in Mr. Markham's *Life* (p. 324) should be compared with the original in Rushworth.

Mr. Markham.	Rushworth.
"Lord Fairfax had a very narrow escape. *One of the insurgent leaders had watched him riding towards a redoubt near East Gate, took a careful aim* with a Drake, and the ball struck the ground so near him that he was covered with dirt."	"19 August. This evening his Excellency going into one of the forts near East Gate, *the enemy discharged* a Drake with case-shot, which scattered dirt upon him and his attendance."

The addition speaks for itself.

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VI.

DESCENT OF THE CASTLE.

THE circumstances under which the Castle of Colchester was finally alienated by the Crown are described somewhat meagrely in the pages of Morant. As their complicated character may have given rise to some misconception on the subject, it may be well to arrange the facts in the form of a connected narrative. In the early part of the 17th century, the Castle, with its appurtenant demesnes and Hundred, was still in the hands of the Crown. Its keepership was vested (under the grant of 1603) [1] in John Lord Stanhope of Harrington, with remainder for life to his son Charles. A *reversion* to the Castle, on the death of the latter, was therefore all that the Crown could grant. It was in 1629 that Charles I. bestowed this reversion on a Scotch favourite of his Father and himself, James, Earl of Carlisle. But the reversion which the Earl now obtained was not that of the mere *keepership* but that of the *Castle itself*, with its Rights, Royalties and Demesnes, to him and his heirs for ever, to be holden henceforth "in common socage" of the Manor of East Greenwich.[2] Such was the fate of a fortress which, four centuries before, had been called upon to resist in turn the forces of England and of France.

The prodigal courtier soon squandered the wealth bestowed by his Royal Masters, and his Colchester property was swiftly engulfed in the ocean of his lavish expenditure.[3] The grant was dated 5 Aug. 1629, and on the 11 May 1633, the estate was mortgaged to a certain Archibald Hay, and "released" to him three years later (12 April 1636), when the Earl was at

[1] See p. 56.

[2] See the original Patent 5 Charles I. Canterbury Castle had been granted away, in the same manner, a few years before.

[3] "He had no other consideration of money than for the support of his lustre, and whilst he could do that, he cared not for money, having no bowels in the point of running in debt, or borrowing all he could. He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person of any in the age he lived and after having spent in a very jovial life, above 400,000 pounds, which upon strict computation, he received from the Crown, he left not an house nor an acre of land to be remembered by." Clarendon's *History*.

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the point of death.[1] This Hay, who was a Gentleman Usher to the Queen, thus found himself the absolute possessor of the reversion. But he soon discovered, or pretended to discover, that he had made a very bad bargain,[2] and endeavoured, by the aid of his influence at Court, to oust the Stanhopes at once, and enter on possession of the property. On the 12 February, 1637, he obtained a Commission out of the Exchequer, which was referred to the Lord Treasurer on the 13 March. In accordance with this Commission, an Inquest was taken at Colchester on the 12 April, and is still preserved in the Public Record Office.[3] This Inquest established the true ownership of the Castle, and afforded conclusive proof against the claim of the petitioner. But his reversionary prospects seemed so remote that, two years later, he renewed his suit, in a petition dated 29 Oct., 1639.[4] Vexatious proceedings were then commenced against Lord Stanhope, in the Court of Exchequer, "for the recovery of the Castle of Colchester," but the Scotchman was still unsuccessful, and preferred a fresh petition 22 June, 1641, in consequence of which Lord Stanhope was called upon to answer to the Bill.[5] But the suit only proved ruinous to Hay, and at the close of the civil wars he found himself an imprisoned debtor, and was glad enough to compound for an attempted escape from jail by conveying his rights[6] to Sir John Lenthall, its Marshal, whose Father, the celebrated Speaker,[7] had secured for him a snug berth as one of the "Clerks in Chancery." The cunning lawyer at once resolved to repeat the attempt in which his predecessor had failed. Lord Stanhope, ruined in the royal cause, had sold the Stambourne Estates[8] in 1648, and retired beyond seas. Ejectment proceedings were now commenced under cover of a false accusation, and the Royalist owner had no chance. Lenthall obtained possession of the Castle, and eventually sold it (15 April, 1656) to a fellow "Clerk," Sir James Norfolk,[9] whose family was connected with Colchester.[10]

[1] He died 25 April.
[2] See his Petition in the House of Lords MSS.
[3] State Paper (Domestic) Vol. CCCLII. 62.
[4] State Papers (Domestic).
[5] House of Lords MSS.
[6] 26 July 1649. Archibald Hay died two years later.
[7] And "Master of the Rolls in Chancery."
[8] See p. 55.
[9] "One of y^e^ Clerks in y^e^ Chapel of y^e^ Rolls in Chancery."
[10] He was of Cranbrook House, Ilford. His mother was a Brooke, descended from the Colchester Jobsons (who had obtained, at the Dissolution the Castle Tithes) and his grandmother was of an All Saints Family.

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The Norfolks were an unlucky house. Sir James, having hitherto suffered as a Royalist,[1] came over to the Commonwealth at the eleventh hour, and suffered again at the Restoration. For the time however he did well, and was created a Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms. By purchasing from his cousin the tithes on the Castle Lands[2] he rendered them tithe-free, as they ever after remained. But with the return of Charles II the claim of the Stanhopes revived, and Norfolk was compelled to compromise the case by paying no less than £2575 in compensation for Lord Stanhope's life interest (17th Jan. 1661).[3] As this was in addition to the original purchase-money, Colchester Castle must have cost him dear. Dying at the close of 1680, he was succeeded by his son Robert, whose speculations were fully as disastrous as his father's. The row of houses which he built between the Bailey and the High Street proved such a ruinous investment that he was compelled to sell the Castle, with the ground on which it stood, (9th May, 1683[4]) to a certain John Wheely, who covenanted to destroy the building and to sell the materials it contained.

Wheely's desperate undertaking marks an epoch in our story, not only for the havoc that he wrought, but also because the Castle was then severed from the Demesnes and the Hundred which from time immemorial had been always annexed to its possession.[5] Fortunately for a more reverent generation, the Castle offered so stout a resistance that the speculator was glad to abandon his task, and to seek for his energy a more profitable field in clearing the channel of the Colne.[6] The noble ruin which he had used so cruelly, he sold to Sir Isaac Rebow. Sir Isaac was the architect of his own fortunes and the leading townsman of his day. The grandson of a humble Flemish weaver, he lived to be Mayor, Recorder, and High Steward of Colchester, and to represent the borough in no less than ten Parliaments![7] He received King William as his guest in his own house in Head Street, and was created a Knight on that

[1] He had to mortgage his Plumstead property in 1656.
[2] See Chapter VII.
[3] Lord Stanhope died 1675, aged 82.
[4] *Not* 1693, as stated in the re-issue of Morant, and inadvertently copied by Mr. Watson in his *Tendring Hundred*.
[5] As the Bailey would be required for the process of demolition, they leased it to him for 21 years at £7 a year.
[6] He was foreman of the works in this arduous undertaking which lasted twelve years.
[7] 1692—1726.

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occasion.[1] The possession of the ancient Castle,

"Majestic though in ruin,"

may have seemed to the worthy Knight to add fresh lustre to his dignity. He allowed it however to remain in the condition in which it had been left by Wheely, and the elements were yearly completing the destruction which the spoiler had failed to effect. The shrewd merchant did but reflect the utilitarian spirit of his age. He did not indeed destroy the ruin, probably because Wheely's attempt had proved that it would not pay him to do so. The use to which he finally put it is sufficiently quaint to be recorded. Dissatisfied with the conduct of his eldest grandson,[2] Mr. C. C. Rebow, Sir Isaac resolved, in a spiteful freak, to cut him off with a — Castle! He died in the autumn of 1726 devising to his "disobedient and undutiful grandson no part of my estate except the Castle of Colchester."[3]

The youthful heir lost no time in disposing of his "White Elephant," and fortunately found a purchaser through whom it passed into far more reverent hands. In a newly-erected red-brick house, now known as the Holly Trees, but then as "Esquire Creffeild's,"[4] there lived a wealthy widow of some five-and-thirty summers. Her husband, Mr. Ralph Creffeild,[5] had been dead three years, and she was about to bestow her hand on a suitor, Mr. Charles Gray five years her junior. Mr. Gray was a zealous antiquary and had set his heart upon the Castle.[6] Happily for him, his future mother-in-law [7] consented to buy the coveted ruin and to present it to her daughter and himself.

It is undoubtedly to Mr. Gray's enthusiastic devotion that Colchester owes the preservation of her Castle.[8] For more than

[1] 27 March, 1693.

[2] Sir Isaac was thrice married and had several children, but his posterity appears to have become wholly extinct on the death of Mrs. Gurdon-"Rebow" in 1834.

[3] Will dated 3 June 1725, proved 30 Sep., 1726.

[4] Pryor's View, 1724. See also p. 122.

[5] J.P. for Essex. Only surviving son of Sir Ralph Creffeild of Ardleigh and Mersea, Knt., the descendant of an ancient family seated at Fordham. He left an only son, whose daughter became heiress to the Castle.

[6] Morant is inaccurate in making him the actual purchaser.

[7] Mary, widow of John Webster (see *Antiquary* IV. 259). She resided here with her daughter, and died 1755, aged 92.

[8] "The Castle," says Mr. Roach Smith (writing in 1846) "then fortunately passed into the hands of Mr. Charles Gray, the well-known Antiquary, and it now belongs to Mr. Charles Gray Round, M.P., of Birch Hall, who fully appreciates its value as a noble record of the past, and

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half a century he watched over the noble ruin,[1] sheltering and protecting it at great expense and restoring a portion of its interior.[2] This "worthy gentleman" was much esteemed by the leading Antiquaries of his day, who came from far to visit his collections of Roman curiosities and coins.[3] Nor did he live in mere learned seclusion. He was also a keen politician and was returned for Colchester in the famous election (1741) which led to the fall of Sir Robert Walpole.[4] He represented the borough in the four subsequent Parliaments and died universally respected, 12th December 1782.[5]

Mr. Gray's operations were so extensive that we shall understand the Castle better when we have realised their nature. He first arrested the progress of decay by levelling up the tops of the walls, which he had found jagged and exposed, and protecting them by masonry as described by Mr. Buckler.[6] He also cleared and restored the great well of the Keep. He then made for himself a private entrance, facing his garden door, by opening out a loophole in the east wall.[7] Meanwhile the county was in need of a lock-up for its Colchester prisoners, and Mr. Gray consented in 1734 to lease the Dungeons of the Castle for the purpose. In consequence of Wheely's operations there was no longer sufficient accommodation for the Jailer and his prisoners, and a building had therefore to be added to the vaults at the South end of the East Court. The private entrance being thrown into this building, Mr. Gray had to close it up, and to effect a fresh one through the centre loophole [8] where the doorway still remains. It was not, however, till considerably later [9] that he undertook the restoration of the southern portion and gave it

spares no expense or pains to protect it from injury, while at the same time it is rendered, under certain slight restrictions, accessible to the public" (*Brit. Arch. Journ.* II. 36).

[1] "It is now carefully preserved by the present worthy owner." Morant (1748).

[2] "It was fitted up without sparing expense and with great propriety." Grose's *Antiquities* (1773).

[3] Morant's *Colchester* III. 21—28.

[4] Walpole was accused of spending secret service money to influence this very election. (8th Report, Hist. MSS., App. I., 111a).

[5] See Mural Tablet in All Saints. He was also F.R.S. and a Trustee of the British Museum. His first wife having died 1751, he married Mary, sister of Richard Wilbraham, Esq., M.P., of Rode, Cheshire.

[6] *Colchester Castle* pp. 28, 38—40.

[7] Shewn in view of 1732. Mr. Buckler wrongly assigns these openings to Wheely on p. 25, but is more accurate on p. 30.

[8] Shewn in View of 1738.

[9] About 1750.

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the appearance which we now see. He carried up the staircase to its present height, and crowned it with a dome [1] somewhat less objectionable than the taste of the day might have warranted. He also altered and fitted up the "Record Room." The void space between the staircase and the Crypt he filled with his Library [2] and Piazza, and then roofed the whole. Finally, he added the square room on the North-East Tower. Mr. Gray's restorations may not commend themselves to the severer taste of modern Purists, but they certainly might have been far worse and they have at any rate saved the ruins.

The Castle has practically undergone no subsequent alteration. In 1782 it reverted to Mr. Round of Birch Hall, and the County continued to rent the Eastern portion of the building.[3] The treatment of the prisoners confined in this jail gave rise to a lively controversy at the commencement of the present century. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1804,[4] appeared a letter on the Essex prisons, written by Mr. Neild, an imitation of Howard, to his friend Dr. Lettsom, and dated 30 July, 1803. Some of its details deserve to be quoted.

"The Castle was formerly the *County Gaol*. That part of it which is now the *Bridewell* has first a large room with a fireplace, 28 feet by 14;[5] on one side a room with a window; on another side two rooms at right angles with the former, a window in the farthermost.[6] These rooms are about 13 feet square; the partitions are iron gates for light and air from the window at each end There is a court-yard, but of which prisoners have very seldom the use; the keeper's wife told me they were afraid of escapes."

This letter called forth two replies [7] signed James Round (31 Oct.) and R. R. Newell, F.R.C.S. (12 Nov.) The former, writing "as a Magistrate acting for the County of Essex, and as an appointed Visitor of the said House of Correction for 12 years past," disproves several of Mr. Neild's assertions, and shews that he had omitted all mention of the "women's wards" above. The latter as "the medical attendant thereon" declares

[1] Shewn in View of 1767.

[2] See p. 101. "As to the present great windows in the room which has with so much taste been fitted up as a Library by Mr. Gray, and in the room adjoining, they were forced out only a few years ago with much labour." Mr. King (1776).

[3] Leases by Charles Round Esq., to County, 30 June 1797 and 28 Sept. 1818.

[4] Vol. 74, p. 705.

[5] See p. 95. This room was the external addition.

[6] The vaults were then divided into three compartments.

[7] Vol. 74, pp. 1096—1098.

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that the account is "very erroneous," and that Mr. Howard[1] himself had "visited the prison and declared himself highly satisfied."

"During the period I have held this office the number of prisoners confined at any one time has very seldom exceeded six The rooms of the prison are large, clean, and airy; in cold weather, glass casements are put up before the gratings[2] and fires are allowed in them The back rooms are never used but for persons who are confined for great crimes The present Visitors are the Rev. Mr. Round and John Bawtree, Esq., whose characters for honour, humanity, and attention to the duties of their office as Magistrates need no eulogium." He adds that "having no connection with the Borough Gaol," he cannot speak on that point, and indeed so terrible was its conditions that no one could be found to defend it.[3]

The county's lease of the Jail would have extended till 1845, but on the completion, in 1835, of the prison on the Ispwich Road, the few prisoners were removed thither, the Bridewell having thus existed for just a hundred years. The "Chapel" ceased at the same time to be used for the Militia Armoury, and the Library alone continued in use, being placed by the Proprietor at the disposal of the County Magistrates (see p. 101) till their weekly Petty Sessions were transferred to the Town Hall. In 1855 the Corporation found themselves placed in difficulty by the bequest of the valuable Vint bronzes, conditional on a Museum being provided for their reception.[4] Mr. Charles Gray Round, then Proprietor of the Castle, came to the rescue by presenting to the Town the so-called "Chapel" for a Museum,[5] and in 1866[6] he presented the "Record Room" as well, as a Repository for the valuable collection of deeds belonging to the Corporation of Colchester. In 1863, on the marriage of the Prince of Wales, the ancient Castle shared in the festivities, an ox being roasted whole beneath its walls. In 1864, it was visited and discussed by the British Archæological Association, and in 1876, by the Archæological Institute. On the latter occasion the Members were invited to two *réunions*

[1] The famous Prison Philanthropist.

[2] This was a curious survival of the custom, in feudal days, of using moveable glass casements.

[3] See its description, Vol 74., pp. 705, 706.

[4] The Town Collection had been previously housed in a room in the Town Hall.

[5] The Deed (dated 7th May, 1855), recites that "the said Charles Gray Round is seized and possessed of an absolute and unencumbered estate in fee simple of the aforesaid Castle of Colchester." It does not grant the Piazza (now the passage) but only the actual Chapel.

[6] 22nd February, 1866.

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within the ruined fortress, and "the entire Castle, including the vaults, the cells, &c., was brilliantly lighted up, the whole forming a scene which will not easily be forgotten."[1]

The present proprietor inherits the Castle through a descent of seven generations, being direct heir of Mrs. Webster of the Holly Trees, the original purchaser of the building. The Descent of the Castle having now been traced since its alienation by the Crown, it may be superfluous perhaps to add that at no time throughout its history has it belonged to the Town or Corporation.[2] Indeed, as Morant reminds us, "the town of Colchester hath heretofore been feudatory to the Castle by Rents and many other Duties and Services; but a discharge and exemption was purchased from Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by Parliament in the beginning of her reign."[3]

[1] *Arch. Journ.* XXXIV. 47.

[2] Almost all the Norman Castles eventually passed into the hands of private owners, but Canterbury, which like Colchester had been alienated by the Crown (see p. 126.) unfortunately fell, within this Century, into those of the Corporation. This Body "sold the Keep to a speculator in building materials" to work his will upon it. By him it was deliberately defaced and in great part destroyed, and was then converted by the Gas Company into a gigantic "coal-hole!" In that state it was found by Mr. Clark at the 1875 meeting, when he bitterly denounced this act of almost incredible vandalism. A pleasant contrast was afforded at the 1876 Meeting, by the condition of Colchester Castle, which (unlike its fellow Keep) has remained in private hands.

[3] Morant's *Colchester* I. 10.

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VII.

DEMESNES OF THE CASTLE.

We learn from William of Poitou that the Conqueror, as he dotted the country with his Castles, entrusted them to the custody of French followers, zealous in his service.[1] In each of them he placed a garrison of horse and foot, and to each Castle he assigned demesnes for the benefit and encouragement of its commander.[2] I now propose to show that, after the lapse of eight centuries, the bulk of the demenes which he assigned to the Constable of Colchester Castle are annexed to this day to its possession.

However improbable this statement may appear, we are in a position to prove it beyond a doubt by the aid of a singular transaction. Eudo of Rye, the faithful and popular Seneschal, was singularly anxious about the safety of his soul. His ample means placed it within his power to purchase his salvation on easy terms. To the Norman Baron a new Monastery would commend itself as the obvious premium to be paid for his spiritual insurance. So a Norman Monastery soon arose in full view of the Norman Keep, and was filled by Eudo with the grateful Monks, who were to call on St. John to plead for his vices, and on humanity to imitate his virtues.[3] Now among the endowments which the pious founder showered upon his stately Abbey were the tithes of many an Essex Manor which owned the *Dapifer* for its Lord.[4] But the one gift with which

[1] Will. Pict. 148.

[2] Ibid. "Ipsis opulenta beneficia distribuit, pro quibus labores ac pericula libentibus animis tolerarent." Mr. Freeman adds that William claimed to have "despoiled none of his new subjects" in these grants to the French Constables. In the case of Colchester, at any rate, the claim was a just one, for the Castle-lands were carved, as we shall see, out of the ancient Demesne of the Crown.

[3] Cf. M. Paris 1178. "*Provocatus exemplo* senescalli Henrici regis, ... qui apud Colecestriam ecclesiam conventualem" &c., &c. The good character of Eudo rests solely on the evidence of the Monasticon.

[4] On the right of landowners to assign their tithes at will, see Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 229. He points out that though "the legal obligation of tithe dated from the 8th century" . . . "the legal determination of

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we are concerned was that of the tithes belonging to the Chapel of Colchester Castle.[1] A little research enables us to show that we can severally identify those "Demesnes of the Castle," which were described in all its later grants, with those very lands, of which, in the year 1102, the tithes were transferred by Eudo. Consequently the Castle Lands of the 17th Century must have identical with those of the 11th, and just as these lands had been assigned by the Conqueror to the Castle, so must their tithes have been assigned to the Castle Chapel. These Demesnes were distinct from the rest of Eudo's property, and ever retained their separate existence as a Royal estate annexed to the Royal Castle.[2]

In the existence of this "Castle Land" we shall find the missing link by which we can connect the Colchester of to-day with the Colchester of Edward the Confessor. For even now, as we step aside from the busy street and enter the garden of the Holly Trees, we find ourselves at once in the open country

the Church to which the tithe was to be paid was not yet settled . . . The actual determination was really left very much to the owner of the land from which the tithe arose and the lords of franchises found it a convenient way of making friends, and procuring intercessions, to bestow it on monasteries. This custom became very frequent after the Norman Conquest." The practice was arrested 1199 by a decretal Epistle of Innocent III. "ut ecclesiis parochialibus justæ decimæ persolvantur." Untounded statements do so much mischief if not promptly corrected that as Mr. Watson has asserted (*Tendring Hundred*) that "in those days ecclesiastical revenues were divided into three portions—one for the parson, one for the poor, and one for the Church. *Subsequent legislation and the union of Church and State* gave all to the parson, made Church preferment a marketable commodity" &c., &c., we are bound to remind his readers that there was *no such* "subsequent legislation" and that *no such* "union of the Church and State" could have ever subsequently taken place, for the simple reason that under the Saxon Kings that union was not only in existence, but was actually closer than it has ever since been.

[1] "Omnes proventus Capellæ in Castello de Colicestrea." (Monast II. 892) Confirmed by Patent 1 Rich I. (1189). "Capellum Castelli Colecestre cum decimis et obventionibus." This Tithe was only granted on special conditions (see Morant) which the Abbots were remiss in performing. See below for its subsequent history.

[2] Thus it was separately accounted for by Hamo de St. Clare (Pipe Roll 1130) as Royal land apart from the rest of Eudo's possessions, which he was then administering ("tr. R. In dnic' Caruc' Reg.") It accordingly passed to the successive Constables of the Castle, as being inseparable from its possession. So, for instance, in 1275, it is spoken of as "*Dominica Regis* ad Castrum et Hundredum" (sc. de Tendryng) "Pertinentia." (Pat. 4 Edward I). It is thus shown, beyond a doubt, to have formed part of the Royal Demesne in 1275, in 1130, in 1086, and in the days before the Conquest.

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within the very walls of Colchester. This strange phenomenon, over which so many have puzzled,[1] becomes simple enough when once we realize that this land so devoid of the dwellings of man is that which was tilled by the Royal ploughmen in the days before the Conquest, and which was set apart by William the Norman as the inalienable appendage of the Castle he had reared.

Of this ancient Estate the bulk lay singularly compact, bounded by the Colne towards the North and East, and by what are now East Hill and St. Helen's Lane on the sides which impinged upon the town.[2] There were, however, some detached portions, one of them lying on the Lexden Road, and the others on the North of the river, out towards the King's Wood. The original extent of the whole would seem to have been 207 acres, of which 180 were arable and 27 were in pasture. The King's Wood being part of the original Crown Demesne was never allowed to merge in the "Forest" of the Norman Kings, and its keepership was doubtless for a time annexed to that of the Royal Castle.[3] But it was quite distinct from the Castle Demesnes, and indeed was at times in the hands of the Crown and at times in the hands of the Burgesses.[4] To these lands must be added some quit-rents to the nominal

[1] "Nearly a fourth part of the whole town. So large a vacant space in the midst of a town, and sundered from the rest, is peculiar to Colchester. In most of the towns where the Normans built Castles we read that houses, more or fewer, were pulled down or destroyed in order to make room for the new fortresses On the contrary, at Colchester, there was a void space within the walls sufficient for the erection of several Castles. if they had been required, without the demolition of a single burgage house." Jenkins' *Temple of Claudius* p. 43. His hypothesis that it had been the glebe of the heathen temple is of course untenable. Mr. Freeman's explanation is equally wide of the mark. He attributes it to St. John's and St. Botolph's having arisen "on the south side of the town, the side away from the river, a fact which accounts for the way in which the inhabited town of Colchester has spread itself. While on the northern side, void spaces have arisen within the walls," &c., &c. (*Arch. Journ.* XXXIV., 69).

[2] It was into the heart of this, *par excellence* "the Castle Land," that there ran what is still known as the "Land Lane."

[3] See p. 112. The Seneschalship of the Forest of Rockingham was vested in the Constable of Rockingham Castle, and (an exact analogy) the Constableship of "Kings Wood" (which extended over South Gloucestershire) in the Constable of Bristol Castle.

[4] Thus, under Henry II., the Burgesses "had it to farm," and then it was again in the hands of the Crown. It is specially excepted from the grant to Guy de Rochfort (1258), which implies that its keepership usually *was* granted with the Castle. This view is confirmed by the writ of 1217. (See p. 45).

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amount of 30s. and also the possession of two-thirds of the King's or Middle Mill.[1]

Though these Demesnes are alluded to in all the grants of the Castle, I do not find their extent specified till the time of Edward the Third.[2] But as the same specification was repeated in every successive grant, though the Demesnes themselves were undergoing a process of gradual diminution, it must obviously have been merely conventional, and must probably have represented the original extent of the Demesnes assigned to the Castle. That some of the lands must have been alienated at a comparatively early period is shewn by the fact that Morant, though writing in 1748, and deriving his information from the inquisition of 1637, could only account for 170 acres out of the 207 spoken of in the grants, though he does not seem to have perceived the discrepancy. We must attribute it, I think, mainly, to grants to religious houses, but we shall also find traces of some small portions being alienated to private persons. In the latter case the land was as usual held "of the Manor of East Greenwich" on payment of a nominal quit-rent to the possessor of the Castle Demesnes. We accordingly find, as we should expect, that the decrease in the extent of the Demesnes was accompanied by an increase in the amount of the Quit-Rents. But it is now time that we should examine the lands in detail.

I fortunately discovered among the deeds which Mr. Round had placed at my disposal a large map of the Castle Lands in 1622. Its quaint phraseology is as follows "THE PLOTT of the CASTLE of COLCHESTER in the countie of ESSEX wherein is described by different colours the tenements and Lands thereunto belongeinge and also the lands of TENDRING HUNDREDTH, which are the inheritance of the Right Hon. the Lord Stanhope, Surveyed An. Dni. 1622." Notice here the destinction between the lands of the Castle and of the Hundred. Without professing to explain its meaning, I would call attention to the singular fact that it was at least as old as the 13th Century,[3] and that it may therefore possibly afford a clue which historians have sought in vain.[4] Of the 170 acres accounted for, 46 were

[1] The remaining third had been granted by Henry I. to St. Botolph's.

[2] See grant to Robert de Benhale.

[3] See patent of 1275. "Dominica Regis ad Castrum *et Hundredum* pertinentia." Morant seems ignorant of these Hundred-Lands.

[4] I refer to the existence in England of common lands of the Hundred. Stubbs (*Const. Hist.* I. 97) rejects it, though doubtfully (Cf. *Ib.* p. 34), from want of evidence. It should be noticed that these lands (1) adjoin the common lands of the *town*, (2) are older even than the Maldon Road.

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"lands belongeinge to the Bayleywick of Tendring Hundred."[1] The bulk of these latter were situated between the Maldon and London Roads, and amounted nominally to 34 acres.[2] They are still annexed to the possession of the Castle. There intact they lay, a few years ago, typifying the strange persistence which has characterised the life of England,—unchanged from that day, eight centuries before, when the Lord of the Castle had bestowed their tithes on the Monks he loved so well. And beneath them the weird Sphinx was still slumbering in peace, till the time when she should be brought to light surrounded by the memorials of her dead.

The land was divided into three portions. A space of some 20 acres, facing on the North the London Road, and trending away to the South-West, was known from the earliest times as "The Sholand."[3] It occurs more than once in the history of the Siege.[4] This again was sub-divided into the Great and the Little Sholand. The former was the northern portion and is now known as the Creffield Park Estate. It had remained intact till the year 1819 when three acres on its northern frontage were selected as a site for the County Hospital.[5] The erection of the Grammar School followed,[6] at the other extremity of the frontage, and building operations are rapidly obliterating the ancient boundaries of the land. It may therefore be well to set them on record before they are wholly lost. The Great Sholand is marked out by Hospital Road, Creffeild Road and the western limits of the Grammar School. Beyond the Creffeild Road lies the Little Sholand, and beyond that the "Broomfield" (12 acres in extent), both of them "marching with" the Maldon Road.[7]

[1] So described in the 1622 survey.

[2] Their true extent is between 35 and 36 acres as is shown in a Survey of 1790, entitled "Plan of a farm on the Lexden Road belonging to James Round, Esq."

[3] Pronounced *Shooland*. We find in the town rolls for 1348 "in cornerio campi vocati le Sholand," and in one of 1357 the Great and Little Sholand are both mentioned. It is a pity that so ancient a name has been allowed to pass into oblivion.

[4] See p. 114.

[5] It was in this ground that the famous Colchester Spinx was discovered with other Roman Antiquities.

[6] 1852. The playfield behind it (which was presented by the late Mr. Round, in 1861) leads up to the site of Fort Essex (p. 115).

[7] Anciently known as "Schrebbe Street" (*Morant* I. 4) from its passing through the "Schrebbe" or brushwood, of which the end is still marked by "*Shrub*-end." The same word occurs in *Shrews*bury and Wormwood *Scrubs*. Near "Schrebbe Street" stood Schrebbestone mentioned in the Town Rolls 4 Edward IV.

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Just facing them, across the road, is the curiously narrow strip known in early records as the "Longstrake" or "Longslipe" We may, I think, fairly infer, from the existence of this detached portion, that the boundary of these lands is actually older than the Maldon Road itself. It should be noticed that in the map, of 1622, these fields are shown surrounded by "common" lands (also known as the "Boroughfields.") I am strongly of opinion that the "Crouched Friars" property, in the angle of the London and Maldon Roads, must have been originally Castle Land, as in the case of the Greyfriars. Its position seems to make this certain, and we know from the evidence of the tithes that "the Hoste" at least had been so.[1]

Pass we now to the lands in the immediate neighbourhood of the Castle. The Castle Bailey, as it is now called, was formerly known as the *Upper* Bailey to distinguish it from the the *Nether* Bailey, now "the Sheepshead meadow.[2] The entire Bailey comprises 13 acres, of which 8 were included in the upper portion. This was the most exposed angle of the lands, and had consequently been the most encroached upon when the Inquest of 1637 was taken. Mr. Gray restored the Baileys to the Castle by purchasing them from Norfolk's heirs. At the foot of the "Sheepshead Meadow," between it and the Middle (or King's) Mill, was "the Moore by Rye-Gate," a small triangular field (3 acres), one of the first of the Castle Lands recovered by Mr. Gray (1728). To its right there stretched along along the banks the Little and the Great Rowen Mead,[3] and between them and the walls was the "Long" or "Great Barley" Field.[4] What is now the paddock of the Holly Trees, was formerly known as Simnel's field[5] (5 acres), but was added by the Shaws to the grounds of the Holly Trees when the Castle Lands were broken up.[6] The present moat still marks the old boundary of the Demesnes. To its East lay the Grey Friars, then (1622) the property of the Basils,[7] part of which became the Botanic Garden, and East of that was another property,[8] then belonging, like the Crouched

[1] "The Hoste" was a strip of land on the other side of the lane, which formed a continuation of the Longstrake.

[2] "Sheepshead" is an obvious corruption. Perhaps "Schepeshote (steepshoot?) Miln" in Mediæval Canterbury brings us nearer to the original form. The description would be apposite.

[3] 22 acres, see p. 111.

[4] Campum vocatum Longfeld alias Castelfeld (Town Rolls, 16 Ed. IV).

[5] The Simnels owned the Holly Trees property under the Tudors.

[6] At the end of the 17th Century.

[7] It had been granted out of the Castle Land by Edward II.

[8] Bounded on the East by the Land Lane.

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Friars, to the wealthy family of Stephens. Beyond it were the rest of the Castle Lands, the Home Field, the Middle Field, and the Little Meadow.[1]

North of the Colne the Demesnes were as follows. Beyond the King's Meadow there were two fields (11 acres) running towards the King's Wood. Some way to the East, lay a detached plot (10 acres) known as "The Castle Grove" but early converted into pasture.[2] Lastly there were eleven acres, by far the most interesting of all, scattered about the King's Meadow.

This remarkable meadow, of which the existence has been wholly overlooked, carries us back not only to the days when our forefathers had not yet set foot in England, but even, as I propose to shew, to the infancy of the Aryan race. Among the Institutions which the East Saxons brought with them from their Fatherland was the principle of the Village community, the essential feature of their Polity. As its character has been ably summarised in the Work of Professor Stubbs, I may confine myself to tracing as briefly as possible its connection with the King's Meadow. Leaving out of sight the Arable on the one side and the Wood and Waste on the other, the families of the Village held in common both the Pasture and the Meadow-Land.[3] The latter, according to Professor Stubbs, was selected out of the former (a fresh portion being chosen every year), and was fenced off for six months to allow the hay to grow. An equal share of the crop was allotted to each family.[4] If, however, it be true that the meadow-land was *originally* shifted, it would at a very period become fixed in the most favourable spot.[5] The next step would be the annual allotment not of the crop, but of the land itself. These lots into which the Mead was thus divided[6] (as it is still divided to this very day) would correspond to the number of families[7] in the village, to each of which a fresh lot would be assigned every year.[8] But this lot would be

[1] These fields amounted to 50 acres in all.

[2] It is now traversed by the Railway.

[3] *Const. Hist.* I. 49—50.

[4] I assume that this stage must have preceded the allotment of *land*.

[5] This would naturally be limited. Marshall (*On Landed Property*, 1804) says, "In the lowest situation, as in the water-formed base of a rivered valley, lay the meadow-land" (p. 111).

[6] Into 11 lots, by boundary stones. So at Aston in Bampton "The common mead is laid out by boundary stones into 16 large divisions technically called 'layings-out.' These always remain the same." (Giles, *History of Bampton*).

[7] Perhaps restricted to certain families representing the original settlers.

[8] For these "Lot-Meads" or "Lammas-Lands" see Maine's *Village Communities*, p. 88, and Williams *On Rights of Common*, p. 79. It is to this

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neither "a moveable fee simple"[1] nor a "shifting severalty,"[2] but would be held only in semi-severalty, *i.e.* for the six months of hay harvest, the whole meadow reverting to common pasture for the remaining half year.[3] Ordinary fields might pass into the hands of single owners, but the meadow-land was too precious for these little "lots" to be merged. Gradually, however, each share became permanently assigned to one of the co-parceners,[4] which was one more step in the direction of private property. But the fences had still to be removed on Lammas-day,[5] and the meadow thrown open for six months to the whole body of burgesses.[6] This right, which to a pastoral community had possessed a practical value, had naturally become, when Morant wrote (1748), "a great hurt to many and of advantage to very few." He therefore, strongly urges that the burgesses should compound for their right, "but things," he adds, "of a public nature or advantage are very slowly put in execution among us."[7] Morant was right. It was not till the present century that this much-needed reform took place[8] and that the obsolete tenure resultant from this strange survival

stage that I would assign the passage in the Laws of Ine of Wessex (*circ.* 690 A.D.).—"If ceorls have a common meadow or other partible land to fence" &c. (s. 42).

[1] Coke on Littleton.

[2] Maine.

[3] From Lammas-day (1 August) to Candlemas (2 February). Hence the name "Lammas-Land." These six months were "tempus apertum vulgo vocatum *stray-time*" (Town Rolls).

[4] This is well illustrated by the analogy of Newton upon Ayr in Scotland (*Antiquary* IV. 102) where the permanent assignment was delayed till 1828.

[5] That is, *old* Lammas-day, 1st August Old Style, but altered to 12th August New Style by 24 G. II. c. 23.

[6] "As a rule the inclosures are removed after the hay-harvest, and there are manors in which they are taken down by the villagers on Lammas-day in a sort of legalized tumultuary assembly. All the householders, and not merely the Landowners, are found enjoying this privilege, ... a point of some interest, since an epoch in the history of these groups occurs when they cease to be capable of absorbing strangers." *Village Communities.* p. 87.

[7] I. 91.

[8] Some of the Castle lands were redeemed from Commonage as late as 1819 (Deed of Release from Corporation to Charles Round, Esq.) and the King's Meadow even later. "The right has not been individually exercised for many years past," and the commutations produce £400 a year to be divided among the resident Freemen (Return of all Boroughs possessing Common Lands, *Parl. Papers*, 1870 vol. lv.). As early as 1618 there were some commutations for Commonage, and they were devoted to the Workhouse fund.—Morant (Appendix) p. 47.

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of the past was at length assimilated in practice to that of modern life.

But though Lammas land, from its nature, must always have been originally *Meadow*, the burgesses of Colchester had early contrived, by a kind of false analogy, to extend their right over the pasture as well lying round about the Town, It thus affected in Morant's day some 500 acres, including nearly all the Castle lands. He was aware that there had been an illict extension, though he was ignorant of the true origin of the right and confused it with the "Common-land" of Domesday.[1]

Let us now glance at the connection of this right with primitive Aryan custom. "It does not appear to me a hazardous proposition," says Maine in his *Village Communities*, "that the Indian and the ancient European system of . . . village communities are in all essential particulars identical." Phear's *Aryan Village* affords us an excellent instance.

"The village field or paddy-tract[2] is shared among the families of the village in the following manner,—it is divided into portions by parallel balks, drawn across it from side to side at right angles to the line of waterflow, and each such portion is the hereditary share of some one person or family resident in the village" (p. 183).

Here we have an exact parallel to the arrangement of the King's Meadow. The parallel lines, at right angles to the river, by which it was divided, are still intact, except in that portion which became Castle land, and there too, it can be seen they had originally been drawn.

"The business of allotment (so long as the pratice of allotment obtained), the order of cultivation, the maintenance of the water supply, the keeping up of fences, and all the affairs of common interest were managed by the heads of families entitled to their share of the village land in Panchayat assembled" (p. 240.)

Just so, in the English communities, the villagers, in Moot assembled, had arranged these very same matters, and so at Colchester, as late as 1640 (and later), "the whole Commonalty," *i.e.*, "all manner of persons householders"[3] assembled annually in their Moot hall to elect four "Treasurers" of the Lammas land (corresponding to the *vel vidahne* of Ceylon), that being the last vestige of the original tenure in common. Thus is this meadow a relic of the infancy of the Indo-European race.

[1] See his acccount of this "half-year land" (I. 88—91). The Town Records are filled with cases arising from this right which the burgesses guarded with the greatest jealousy.

[2] In Ceylon.

[3] Morant's *Colchester*, I. 89.

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Two of the portions which are Castle Land must be specially signalized, viz. *Mill Acre* and *Parson's Acre*. These names both date from days before the Conquest. The former was the "Mill Ham," the portion of the village Miller, the latter must have been allotted to the village Priest before it passed into the hands of the King. The Castle (and before the Conquest the King's) Land [1] in this meadow was ten acres, besides which was the Mill Acre. They were re-annexed by Mr. Gray to the Castle.

Having thus completed the survey of the Castle Lands, we must briefly glance at the history of their tithes. They were held, under Eudo's donation, by the monks of St. John's till the dissolution. They were then leased out for some 30 years by the Crown, but granted by Elizabeth in 1560, to the greedy and intriguing Sir Francis Jobson, who had been one of the Visitors of the Monasteries. His grandaughter brought them in marriage to Edward Brooke Esq. of Suffolk. Their daughter was mother of Sir James Norfolk, who acquired the Castle in 1656 and purchased these tithes from his cousin Brooke, 22 March 1658. Thus, for a quarter of a century they came into the hands of the proprietors of the Castle. On the sale of the Castle in 1683, the tithes passed to Norfolk's heirs, and from them to the purchasers of the respective lands.

There remains to be noticed "the Bayliff's Acre" in the Parish of Tendring, which was allotted to the Bailiff of the Hundred, but was parcel of the Castle Lands. This, like the "Acres" in the King's Meadow, was a relic of very early times. So too, was the Hundred itself, the last division of our subject.

The earliest documentary evidence we can find of the connection of this Hundred with the Castle is its grant to Stephen Harengood (21 Jan. 1215) as Constable of Colchester Castle.[2] But the circumstances of the grant clearly imply that it had belonged to previous Constables. It is not possible here to discuss the origin and devolopment of Hundreds,[3] but it may briefly be stated that the right thus annexed to the tenure of the Castle was the Lordship or Jurisdiction of the Tendring Hundred.[4]

The interesting institution of the Hundred-Court was incomparably the most ancient of jurisdictions. Tacitus alludes to it in his description of our forefathers, when they dwelt

[1] It is specially mentioned as King's Land in Domesday.
[2] See p. 40.
[3] See Stubbs *Const. Hist.* pp. 29, 54, 102, 185, 398.
[4] "The Franchise of a Hundred consists of a right to hold a hundred-court, which belongs of common right to the Crown." Williams, *Rights of Common*, p. 274.

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among the forests of Northern Germany,[1] and it was the same Court, developed and modified, that lingered on to our own day.[2] In process of time the original Court was split up into two, or even into three, but they were merely departments of the Hundred Jurisdiction. The invaluable inquisition of 1637[3] enables us to define with precision the jurisdiction of the Tendring Hundred. Its Courts were three in number, and were all presided over by the Steward of the Hundred (or his Deputy). (1) The three weekly Court (or *curia parva hundredi*)[4] (2) The View of Frankpledge,[5] "held by prescription, within twelve days next after the Nativity of Christ."[6] (3) The "Sheriff's Torne," held twice a year at Tendring.[7] As this Hundred was never an "Honour," its Steward's privilege of presiding over the "Torne" (or "Tourn") to the exclusion of the Sheriff, should be specially noted.[8] "And further y^e^ Jurye doe saye uppon their oathes that y^e^ grant of y^e^ Stewardship of y^e^ Hundred of Tendring and y^e^ nomination of y^e^ Bayliff of y^e^ s^d^ Hundred doth belonge to y^e^ Owners of y^e^ Castle aforesaid." That is to say the Owners of the Castle were neither Stewards nor Bailiffs of the Hundred, but appointed both these Officers, being themselves its *Lords*.[9]

[1] *Germania* cap. 12,

[2] It was finally superseded by the modern "County Court" under 12—13 Victoria.

[3] See p. 127.

[4] *Const. Hist.* I. 898. It was still held at Manningtree about a century ago, its chief business being, as in other cases, the settlement of small debts, now transferred to the County Courts.

[5] *Ib.* I. 88, 398, 399.

[6] This would appear to have been held in the several villages.

[7] "And that y^e^ Steward of y^e^ s^d^ Hundred doth hold, and time out of memory of man hath held, y^e^ Sheriff's torne twice in y^e^ year at Tendring." This statement is confirmed by a passage in the *Rot. Hund.* where the Constable of Colchester and his Bailiff are charged with taking 20 sh. as a bribe from Thomas, Rector of Tendring, when indicted *at the Sheriff's Torne.*

[8] The Steward of the Hundred seems ignored by Professor Stubbs, (I. 102) who does not make him preside over any of the Courts. But in this case he appears to have presided over them all. "In these cases the *Bailiff* of the Hundred was nominated by the Lord, and presided in the Courts, except at the Sheriff's Tourn. In the case of an *Honour*, such as that of Peverel, the Sheriff was excluded even from the Tourn." (I. 400.)

[9] This right was in full exercise at the date of the Inquest (1637) and Lord Stanhope, as holder of the Castle (see p. 56) had granted out the Office of Bailiff, with the "Bailiff's Acre" for £5 a year. In the same way the Elands held the hereditary Bailiffship of Peverel on payment of an annual rent.

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An instructive parallel to this Lordship is afforded by the Honour of Peveril, which was attached in a similar manner to the possession of Nottingham Castle.[1] It included the same two Courts, the great and the lesser, and the same two Officers, the Steward and Bailiff,[2] and passed with the Castle in the same way into the hands of private owners.[3]

It is interesting to observe how far the area of the Court's jurisdiction had been lessened by grants of *sac and soc* to the several Lords within the Hundred.[4] Of the thirty-one townships or parishes which it comprised, fourteen had obtained the full grant exempting them from both the "View of Frankpledge" and the "Sheriff's Tourn," and ten more had obtained the lesser exemption, freeing them from suit and service at the "Sheriff's Tourn" alone. Among the former were of course the villages composing the well-known Soken of Eadwulfsness of which the name is still preserved in Kirby, Thorpe, and Walton.

To this Lordship there were annexed other curious privileges, such as the "common fine," the freedom from rendering account into the Exchequer, the right to waifs and strays and to all the waste within the View of Frankpledge. But as to deodands and felons' goods the Jury returned that they knew not.

The Hundred was severed from the ownership of the Castle at the same time as the Demesnes, but was finally, in 1750, reannexed by Mr. Gray to its possession. It was but fitting that so ancient a Jurisdiction should return as it were to die within the walls of Colchester Castle.[5]

Even as the postponement of the present to the future distinguishes civilised from savage man, so is an intelligent reverence for the past a result of the higher civilisation. Our ancestors sacrificed the past to the present where we would

[1] See Dep. Keeper's Report XVI. app. 41.

[2] There the Steward presided over the Tourn and the Bailiff over the View of Frankpledge.

[3] According to the Peveril Record, "King William I. ordained that from time to time and at all times thereafter, when and so often as any freeman of dignity and fealty to the Crown of England should in lawful manner hold the site and Castle of Nottingham, by gift, descent, or purchase, that same man and his heir should be Constable, Marshal and Steward of the Castle of Nottingham and Honour of Peveril."

[4] *Const. Hist.* I. 136, 399. These grants exempted their manors from suit and service at the Courts of the Hundred.

[5] According to Mr. Watson (*Tendring Hundred* p. 8.) the Rounds were "the last 'bailiwicks' of the Tendring Hundred." How anybody could be a "bailiwick," ("the province or Jurisdiction of a Bailiff,") I do not profess to explain, but if "bailiff" be meant, it is a strange error, the Bailiff being nominated by the Owners of the Castle, who themselves were the Lords of the Hundred.

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almost sacrifice the present to the past; they subordinated romance to utility where many would now subordinate utility to romance. Yet such a feeling, if not carried to excess, may go far to illumine with poetic beauty the utter dreariness of modern days by kindling into a living flame the stirring times of old.

"There is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp and wait till ages are its dower."

In splendour of memories, in majesty of site, Colchester Castle is indeed surpassed by many a famous feudal stronghold. And yet its massive ruins have their own tale to tell, when those venerable towers of unrivalled strength are irradiated by the light of history.

"Seht ihr dort die altergrauen
Schlösser sich entgegenschauen
Leuchtend in der Sonne gold."

They tell us of Kings and warriors, they tell us of tyrants and oppressors, and they tell us of weary Loyalists led forth to be shot beneath their walls. For in this spot we are reminded by the names of Benyon and of Parnell, of Lucas and of Lisle, that in the past, even as in our own day, the cause of Liberty has, in the hands of the Demagogue, served as the engine of a most ruthless tyranny.

Nor is it only for its own sake that this Castle claims our reverence. It stands within walls in comparison with which it is itself but as a thing of yesterday,—the famous walls of Colchester.

"In few parts of the Kingdom are there more abundant remains of the olden time than in and about Colchester. The town is still a pictorial history of Roman, Briton, Saxon, Norman, and Englishman. Here was the first Roman Colony founded in Britain. Here reigned, that is in legend, the famous King Cole, and legendary lore tells us that his daughter Helena was the mother of Constantine."[1]

But we need no aid of legendary lore to invest with its glamour that ancient stronghold, the streets of which have been traversed in triumph by the legions of Claudius, by the Ironsides of Fairfax. More than nine centuries ago it was already "well-known unto all men,"[2] and the wondrous tale of its olden glories enshrined in the page of the monkish chronicler was but the afterglow of that sun of Britain which had set for ever with Cunobelin. For

[1] *Athenæum*, 5 Sept. 1875.
[2] "Villa omnibus notissima." See p. 14.

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the Royal Seat of that mighty chieftain has preserved from the earliest ages its charmed and unbroken life. Against it enemies have indeed come up from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West. On its heights the Briton was overthrown in turn by the Emperor of the World, by the highland savage, and by the rover of the eastern seas. Here the Saxon wrestled with the Dane, and here the conquering Norman reared the mightiest of his donjons, fondly dreaming, like the Roman before him, that he had raised an everlasting citadel.[1]

"Norman and Saxon and Dane are we"

aye and, it may be, Roman and Briton too, sharing, in this latter age, the blood of all the conquerors. The fortress of William, for this generation, has no more terrors than the fortress of Claudius, though spared from the fate which the latter suffered at the hands of an outraged race. Of the Temple which the Roman had built for eternity, not one stone is left upon another, and yet those very stones are surely with us to this day, wrought, after a thousand years, into the fortress of the second Conqueror. And of all that has here passed in these eighteen centuries these stones are witnesses, witnesses of human pride and of the vanity of human greatness, witnesses whose solemn cry echoes, as through a sepulchre of Conquerors,—"How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!"

[1] "Quasi arx æternæ dominationis." Tacitus.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 13. There is also a "Dead Lane" in Leicester. We may compare the Welsh *Adwyr Beddel* (the Pass of the graves)

p. 16. *For* Farm-life *read* Town-life.

p. 27. The latest *dictum* on the question is that of no less an authority than Mr. Clark. In his "Castles of England and Wales in the 12th Century," (*Arch. Journ.* XXXVIII. 266.) he says—"Colchester, the work of Hubert of Rye or his son, acting in some measure for the Crown, is built of Roman or quasi-Roman materials upon a Roman site" &c. I have already disposed of the baseless tradition that the Castle was built by Eudo of Rye, but the statement here for the first time made that it was the work of his father Hubert is simply amazing. For not only has Mr. Freeman rightly admitted (*Arch. Journ.* XXXIV. 70) that Eudo's position at Colchester was "the gift not of William the Great but of William the Red" (when his father must have been long dead), but also there is not one scrap of evidence that this Hubert ever set foot in England, except that famous monastic legend which Mr. Freeman has so justly ridiculed. It is however satisfactory to learn that so unrivalled a judge as Mr. Clark not only agrees with me (against all Archæologists,) in assigning this structure to the days of the Conqueror, but has even carried it back to Hubert of Rye, a man of the previous generation.

p. 36. They may have been descended from Hubert de St. Clare, a Domesday tenant in Somerset.

p. 37. In 1157, Henry II, after being crowned at Bury, spent six days (23—28 May) at Colchester, surrounded by a brilliant Court, including the two Archbishops and Thomas à Becket the Chancellor. (Eyton's *Itin. of H. II.* pp. 26—27).

p. 46. *For* Gibert *read* Gilbert.

p. 50. *For* domini. Regis *read* domini Regis.

p. 51. *For* curu *read* cum.

——. *For* cartane *read* cartam.

——. *For* illane *read* illam.

——. *For* ostensano *read* ostensam.

p. 56. *For* Thomas, Mannock *read* Thomas Mannock.

p. 62. *For* Hiches *read* Hickes

p. 63. *For* in the year '48 *read* in the '48.

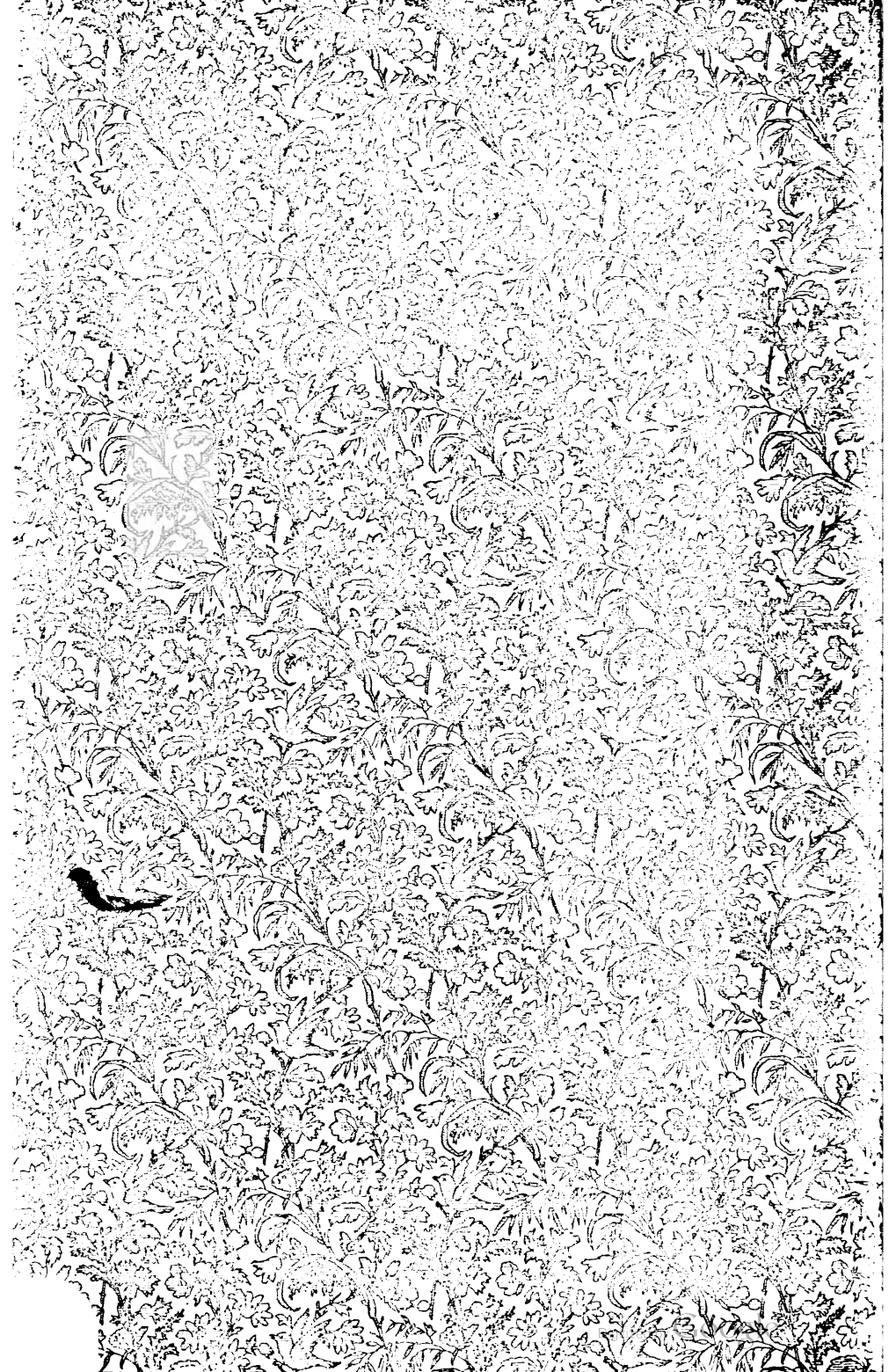
p. 64. *For* there stood *read* then stood.

p. 68. Mr. Parker, I believe, has denied that these earthworks are Roman, but according to Mr. Clark, "the works at Colchester are Roman, probably succeeding earlier British work." (*Arch. Journ.* XXXVIII. 31).

p. 127. The Jurors describe it in the 1637 Inquisition as "an ancient Castle, called Colchester Castle, belonginge to our Sovereign Lord y^e^ King."

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